

THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
PALMYRA.

Containing the
HISTORY
OF THE
CITY, and its EMPERORS,
From its Foundation to the Present Time.

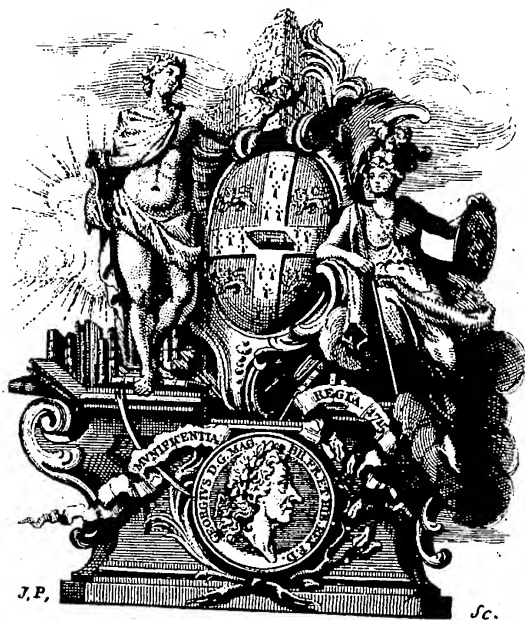
WITH
An APPENDIX of Critical
Observations on the Names, Religion,
and Government of the Country.

AND
A COMMENTARY on the
Inscriptions lately found there.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *S. Smith* and *B. Walford*, Printers to the
Royal Society, at the Princes-Arms in *St. Paul's*
Church-Yard. 1696.

See 444.07



SOCIETATI REGIAE
In Collegio Greshamensi
Supremo Numini, & Laboranti Naturæ
Horas utilissimè impendenti,
Veræ Philosophiæ instauratrici,
Mathematicum, & politioris Litteraturæ
Arbitræ, & Sequestræ,
Eruditi orbis Delicijs,
Quam ambierunt Principum Maximi,
Venerantur, quotquot Musis litarunt
Farraginem hanc
RERUM PALMYRENARUM
Αυτοσχεδιασι exaratam
Summo, quo decet, cultu, & observantiâ
Lubens merito more majorum,
D.D.D.C.Q.

AB. SELLERUS.

THE PREFACE.

THE Learned World having been for some years in expectation of a Description of the Antiquities of *Palmyra* from some accurate Traveller, whose Curiosity might prompt him to visit those Desarts, that he might enrich *Europe* with the Rarities of that remote Province of the East, of which the World had had but a very obscure, if any, account; some worthy English Merchants, pursuant to the Dictates of that nobler Genius, that actuates the generous Members of the *Levant* Company, overlookt all the Difficulties and Hazards, that accompany such an Enterprize, and attempted the Discovery. And though the first Essay was not crown'd with so good Success, as it deserv'd, through the Treachery and Baseness of the *Arab* Prince, who at that

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time govern'd the Country; the second Voyage was perform'd to the great Satisfaction of Mankind, and 'tis to their Munificence, that we owe those Journals, which the *Royal Society* hath lately publisht. Nor is this the only Instance, wherein those eminent Merchants have been Benefactors to the Commonwealth of Letters; their Company consisting of Men of good Birth, and gentile Education, of liberal Fortunes, and as large Minds; and may their Success in their worldly Affairs be suited to their great Deserts, may they always flourish, and always be in a capacity to do worthy Actions.

To the jealous *Arabs* the Undertaking seem'd ridiculous, that prudent Men should contract a great Expence only to transcribe a few imperfect Inscriptions, and take a view of old Ruines, and perhaps there are some Censors who live nearer than the Desarts of *Tadmur*, who are of the same opinion; but the Men of Judgment in all Ages have entertained different Sentiments, and Providence seems to have been particularly concern'd in the Preservation of

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of many Fragments of Antique Literature. When * *Strabo* treats of *Olyn*. * *L. 2. p. 121.* thus, and other Cities of Greece, which had been utterly destroy'd before his time, insomuch as whosoever travel'd those parts, might justly question, whether ever those places had been inhabited; he subjoins, that the Curious and Inquisitive were pleas'd to visit those Ruines, being desirous to see the Theatres, where so many noble Actions had been perform'd, and to pay Homage to the Ashes of those Illustrious Persons, who lay there buried: (And what a Spirit of Emulation does it raise in every generous Soul to prompt him to sublime Actions, when he views the Tombs, or hears the Story of the Heroes of former Ages?) And in the days of † *Lucian*, when many Cities had † *In Charont.* been swallowed up of Earthquakes, or buried in the Sea, tho' Rivers themselves had been lost, and absorpt, that they never more appear'd, yet the Tomb of *Inachus* was preserv'd at *Argos*, a Memorial of the Atchievements of that first King of the *Morea*.

Neither *Strabo*, nor *Mela*, take any notice of *Palmyra*, nor (which is more to be admired) many of the Arabian

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Geographers, neither *Alferganus*, nor the Geographer commonly called the *Nubian*, neither *Nasser Eddin* nor *Ulug Beig*, set out by our Learned Mr. *Greaves*; its Situation was very remote from both *Rome* and *Athens*, in the midst of vast Deserts, which deter'd the curious Traveller; and its Empire, and Glory were so short-lived, that we cannot expect a large Description of its State and Fortunes from the ancient Writers. But such Memorials, as either they, or the later Historians have afforded, I have taken care to digest into method, and to offer them to the present Age. Had we *Domnius* the Historian of *Antioch*, who lived in the Neighbourhood, or *Philostratus* of *Athens*, or *Nicostratus* of *Trebizond*, who wrote the History of those times, particularly the Affairs of the East, it would have been no difficult Province to have given a more perfect account of that Country; or had we but that one Oration of the most accurate *Longinus*, which he wrote in praise of *Odenathus*, that no doubt would have furnish'd a sufficient stock of Materials toward the writing the Life of that
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Great Man; but these are Blessings lost to the World, and, I fear, past retrieving.

It may look like a bold, and daring Undertaking, to adventure to build a Large Structure with so few Materials; but I have been as careful in my accounts, as I was qualified to be, and according to my Understanding have confin'd my self to the strict Rules of Truth, and exactly followed my Vouchers, (whom for that reason I have cited in the Margin;) for he, who pretends to write History without Authorities, may be said to be Author of a Romance, or a Collector of Dreams, but can never be allowed to be a good Historian. And if I have been, as I take it for granted, mistaken in any of my Conjectures, (as I have frequently taken that liberty, but no where, that I know of, without some grounds for my so doing) it is no wonder, and will be easily pardoned, when 'tis consider'd, that even the Historians of that Country, and of the early Ages, knew not all the particulars of the *Palmyrene* Affairs; that *Theodorit* himself the Bishop of Cy-
rus

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rus in *Cyrrhestica*, a Neighbouring Province, in less than two hundred years after the Reign of *Odænathus*, is so mistaken, as to affirm, that *Zenobia* was constituted the Toparch of *Syria*, and *Phœnicia* by the *Persians*, after they had routed the Romans, and that he, who digs in a dark Mine, may be allowed a little failure in his Work; and I shall thank any Learned Man, who shall correct my Errors, and set the History in a better light.

I have dealt with my Reader, as I love to be treated my self, having been always pleased with a full account of whatever is material on any subject, when professedly handled; and I have given my Authorities in the Margin, not to make a show of much acquaintance with Books, but to inform the Reader that I have not imposed on him, and to direct him where he may satisfy himself, if he doubts. I have used the words *Palmyra* and *Tadmur* promiscuously, because, though the new name, whither imposed by a Conqueror, or given for any other reason, prevail'd among the Greeks and Romans, yet the old Syriac name

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name kept its Interest among the Natives, and has at this day recover'd an entire Possession, as some other neighbouring Cities in that Country have done: So *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* is at present call'd, as of old, *Paneas*; and *Petra* in *Arabia*, is now named *Bosra*, to omit other Instances. For, as * *Am-
mianus Marcellinus* has well observ'd, *When Seleucus Nicator rebuilt many old Cities in Syria*, (among whom we may reckon *Palmyra*) *and gave them Strength and Riches, tho' many of them are still called by the Greek Names, which their Founder Seleucus gave them; yet they did at the same time among the Natives retain their old Syrian Appellations, which their first Founders imposed.* (Hence came it, that the new name of *Adrianople* given to *Palmyra*, was in a little time worn out; and tho' the Greeks called the Island of *Corfica* † *Cyrrnus*, the Natives still maintain'd the Interest of the true name, and it continues to this day; and tho' *Heraclea* was for a while called *Plistarchia*, in time it assert'd its ancient Right, and was

* *Lib. 14. c. 8.* Seleucus Nicator urbes construxit multis opibus firmas, & viribus, quarum ad præsens plerique licet Græcis nominibus appellentur, quæ iisdem ad arbitrium imposita sunt conditoris, primogenita tamen nomina non amittunt, quæ ex Assyriâ linguâ institutores veteres indiderunt.

† *Diod. Sic. l. 5. p. 205.*

Steph. π. πάλ. v. πλίσταρχια.

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was called as formerly, *Heraclea*.) And I heartily wish, that the Learned Men, who have visited those Oriental Countries had furnisht themselves with Instruments, and spent some time in taking the exact Longitudes and Latitudes of the several Cities.

In the Chronological Accounts, I have followed the commonly receiv'd *Epochas*, and accordingly fixt my Series of Times, without entring into an over-nice Examination of particular Disputes in Chronology, which was not so consonant to my present Subject, having fixt the year of the Creation according to the Computation of our most Learned Arch-bishop *Usher*. I have freely used the names of the Heathen Gods, (tho' for the most part with a distinguishing Epithet;) and besides, the necessity of my Subject, which obliged me to it, I might plead the usual practise in other Languages, that the Fathers did the same; and some of the antient Christians, who went larger lengths than I ever durst, witness that Epitaph in *Gruter* *, (*Jovis optimi maximi beneficio hic in spe resurrectionis quiescit*;) nor can I be perswaded, that such Studies are disagreeable

* 1050.

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agreeable to my Profession, (if any passage of that kind appears in the History, I here renounce it, and may it be, as if it had never been said or written) while the Learned *Synefius* hath publisht the Life of *Typhon*, and *Ofris*, *St. Ambrose*, (as 'tis said) and *Palladius*, the History of the *Brachmanes*, and *Nonnus*, besides his Paraphrase upon *St. John*, was the Author of the *Dionysiaca*. Tho', after all, I must profess, I expect to be treated rudely by some sower Criticks; but having no private design in these Papers, I shall please my self to be corrected by a Man of Sense and Temper, and for the rest of the Tribe, they are beneath Consideration; it must be acknowledged, that a Treatise of this kind ought to have been written in the Learned Language, (as probably it may be hereafter;) but it was requisite to publish the Commentary in the same Language with the Text, and that the Journals having been set forth in English, the History ought to be written in the same Tongue; and had not a good part of my Papers, when finishd, been unhappily lost past retrieving, my Genius also nauseating the Drudgery of doing the same thing

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P. 258.

* L.2.p.58.

† L. 3. p.
258.

|| P. 282.

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nus, to whom *Saturn* fled, to *Æneas*, the whole was not 200 years.

Ptol. I. 5.
c. 15.

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Alamata, being parts of *Palmyrene*, and built on the Banks of the *Euphrates*, may be presumed the Ports, where they brought their Goods, either exported, or imported on that noble River, the Cities being subject to the Republick. Of what Bigness, and Capacity for carriage the River that did run by its Walls was, we know not, it having been many years since absorpt. That there ran a River there in *Ptolemy's* time, the Geographer affirms expressly, that many other Rivers have been lost in Earthquakes, to which the Eastern Regions are very subject, no Man doubts; and some which yet continue to run, are soon buried: *Mela* avers, that a great River arises near *Corycus* in *Cilicia*; and having made a great noise, is immediately swallow'd, and disappears; and the River that runs by *Aleppo*, is in a few hours afterward buried in the Sands.

When the Romans began to enlarge their Conquests in *Syria*, I question not but *Palmyra* was under the Jurisdiction of the Arabs; for when *Pompey the Great*, after the Death of the famous *Mithradates*, marcht against *Aretas* the King of the Arabs, (*Appian* calls him King of the

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the *Nabatæan Arabs*) ann. V. C. 690. ante *Christum* 63. his Kingdom reacht from the River *Euphrates* to the *Red Sea*, says *Dio*, (in which compass *Palmyra* must be included;) this *Aretas* was doubtless one of the *Al-Hariths* of the Arabians, who were Kings of *Gessan*, and in later Ages Lords of *Tadmur*. After which time, I believe, it acknowledg'd the Roman Power, but was govern'd by its own Laws, having under its immediate Jurisdiction, besides the three Cities on the River already mentioned, twelve more in the Inland of *Syria*. When *Trajan* made his glorious Expedition into *Persia*, I conjecture, *Palmyra* was a Sufferer in the common Calamity of that Country, for *Pliny* says it was sometime in the Roman, at others in the Parthian Interest, or else it would not have need-ed *Hadrian's* assistance to rebuild, and beautify it; while other Cities tasted of *Trajan's* Bounty, for from *Trajan's* Expedition (in the 8th year of his Reign, of *Christ* 105.) the Inhabitants of *Bozra* and *Petra*, dated their Writings, says the Author of the *A-*

B *lexandrian*

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L. 3. p. 105. *Alexandrian Chronicle*: and *Zosimus* affirms, that at *Zaragardia*, not far from the *Euphrates* on the Persian side; in his time there stood a noble Throne built of stone, which the Natives called *Trajan's Throne*; erected, I doubt not, in memory of his illustrious Achievements in that Country. But whatever *Palmyra* might have suffered under *Trajan*, was repair'd by his Successor, who gave the City his own name, and they in Gratitude made Vows for his Recovery; not in the last, the 19th of his Reign, as thro' haste is said, (he reigned almost 22 years;) but in the seventeenth, from which Sickness he recover'd to dye afterwards in greater torment, (and this I mention here, that I may correct the Mistake in the History:) To this City *Septimius Severus* may also be presumed a Benefactor, (to whom before his famous Expedition against the Parthians, when he routed *Niger*, with whom the Arabs, Parthians, and the Inhabitants of *Adiabene*, join'd their Forces) the Re-publick gave their assistance against the Allies of the Empire,

Spart. vit.
Septim.
p. 67.

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pire, and adopted his name into their most eminent Families; after which time, till the Reign of *Zenobia*, I take them to have been in confederacy with, and subject to the Emperors; for they assisted both *Alexander Severus* and *Gordian*, in their Expeditions into the East against the Persians, as the Inscriptions testify; only it looks probable, that upon the Captivity of *Valerian*, the Senate for a while dissembled their Interests, and acknowledged the Power of *Sapores*. In the Battel at *Immæ*, where *Zenobia* was routed, *S. Hierom* affirms, that *Pompeianus* the *Frank* settled at *Antioch*, but the Family was unquestionably fixt in that Country long before; *Capitol. Marcus*. for when *Marcus* the Philosopher undertook the German War, he married his Daughter to *Claudius Pompeianus*, who was of *Antioch*. This also I mention to correct another Mistake. After the Captivity of *Zenobia*, the City was a Spectacle of pity; but being a necessary Frontier, was repair'd, and in *Dioclesian's* time was the Seat of the Governor of the Province.

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the days of *Constantius*, the Inhabitants were noted, as now, for great Robbers; says the old Geographer, set out by *Gothofred*, and govern'd by Women; but that I take for granted is an Error, as if, when *Zenobia* had begun to wield a Scepter, none but her own Sex in that Country durst pretend to command. *Theodosius* the Great divided *Libanessa* from the Seacoast of *Phœnicia*, and made it a distinct Province, *Emesa* being the Metropolis, under whole Jurisdiction *Palmyra* was put, and so continued, when the Followers of *Mahomet* had made themselves Masters of that Country, and for many Centuries after; for in *Abulfedas's* time, above 1300 after Christ, *Tadmur* acknowledg'd *Hems*, (*Emesa*) its Metropolis, and probably it was so after his time. In the Reign of the same *Theodosius*, (if * *Ethicus*, or whoever goes under that name, lived in those days) or before (for *St. Hierome* is said to have translated him) *Palmyra* is reckoned among the famous Towns of the East; as it is also by † *Julius Honorius*, who lived before

Theo-

P. 8.

Malel. part
2. P. 59.

* P. 28. ed.
Grœc.

P. 8.

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Theodoric; for *Cassiodore* mentions him; (*Palmyra damascus*, read *Palmyra, Damascus*.) and the Author of the *Alexandrian* Chronicon among the famous Cities of the fourth Climate, reckons *Palmyra*, with *Apamea*, *Emesa*, &c. in *Coele Syria*. In *Justinian's* time it became the Residence of the Governor of the East, and subject to the *Constantinopolitan* Empire, but 'tis probable did not continue long in that State; for about the year of Christ 640. when *Heraclius* was Emperor, *Jabalab* the Son of *Al-Iham* was King of *Gassan*, and Lord of *Tadmur*, (perhaps a Tributary to *Heraclius*) who being overcome by *Omar* the Caliph, one of *Mahomet's* Successors, submitted, and turn'd Mahometan; but, repenting, he afterward went to *Constantinople*, and became a Christian; and at this time, I believe, Mahometanism settled it self at *Tadmur*, the Tribe of *Gassan* being before those days Christian.

Pococ. not.
in Specim.
hist. Ar.
p. 77, 136.

I shall not particularly undertake to demonstrate the Usefulness of Coins and Inscriptions, the Learned World

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hath

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hath been already fully convinc'd of that truth; how many difficult, and obscure Passages in Chronology have been set in their due light, how many Series of Kings have been regularly deduct, what Rites and Customs both sacred and civil have been by those helps discover'd, needs no further proof; though were there nothing else at *Palmyra* to be seen, but the noble Ruines of the Temples and Palaces, built according to the best and boldest Rules of the ancient Architecture, I should think a Journey thither on that Errand alone worth the Undertaking. And though the oldest of the *Palmyrene* Inscriptions is a hundred years younger than our blessed Saviour's Incarnation (as I have made appear in the Commentary) yet they are not so contemptible as some have imagin'd, but afford us some Memorials of those times, which no where else occur. And by the same Argument, (the use of the Greek ϵ , which appears not till about *Damian's* time) by which I postpone the oldest Inscription at *Tadmur* a hundred

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dred years, may we prove the Spuriousness of that Table preserv'd at *Rome*, which is reported to contain the very Title, which by *Pilate's* Order was affixt to the Cross of our Lord, for therein *Ναζαρεων* is written with the same sort of ϵ .

It must be confess, that in the *Palmyrene* Inscriptions are some peculiar words, which occur not in the *Lexica*, as *ταριων*, *Ουεξιλλατιων*, &c.) of which sort there are more in other old Marbles; nor is it any wonder, that in a remote part of *Syria*, where a different Language was spoken, the Greek should not be so pure, as at *Athens*; and in such cases a Critick is left to his own Judgment: nor is it a Disreputation to his Fidelity, or acumen, if he happen to wander, where he has no Guide.

Pric. in Apul. Apolog.
p. 67. De federe Hierapytniorum, & Priansens. sciunt doctiores usquequo huc progredi licet, scripta hoc genus non intra Lexicorum septa coercenda: fatisq; de Interpretis fide, ac judicio constare, qui sciet, ubi legem sequi, ubi dare oporteat.

The Usefulness of the Journals and History will never be controverted,

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when 'tis consider'd, that they give us the account of a Country, hardly before known to the present Age, and of many Rites and Ceremonies, which the European World counts ridiculous, but will appear very ancient and defensible; for no Nation under Heaven hath been so tenacious of old Usages, as the Orientals: Of which I shall give a few instances.

That the Arabs should suspect the Europeans, that in those Ruines, among so many Sepulchres, they should seek for Treasures, is no wonder to me, since it was very usual under the Foundations of all magnificent Structures to bury great Sums of Money, probably that the Coin, when the Building was ruinous, might discover the Founder, Talismans also being set up in several places to direct the curious Enquirer. Thus * *Rhodanes* found a great quantity of Gold by the Directions of a Pillar, upon which was portrayed a Lyon; and a like Story is related in the Life of *Æsop*: And in *David's Tomb*, *Josephus* says, the High-

* *Jamblic.*
ap. Phot.
cod. 94.

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High-Priest *Hyrchanus* found a vast Treasure; but the Author of the * *Alexandrian Chronicle* avers, that it * P. 364. was *Hezekiah*, who first open'd the Tomb to show the Riches of his Ancestors to the King of *Babylon's* Ambassadors, and that for profaning the Ashes of his Fathers, God devoted his Posterity to Captivity.

That they should account a young Camel dress'd a noble Feast, will cease to be a Subject of wonder or diversion, when we remember, that Custom is the Judge of good or coarse Meats, that every Nation, even in the civiliz'd parts of *Europe*, differ in their Notions of preferable Dishes, and that a Treat of the best things the Country affords ought to be reckon'd a Feast. To which we may add, that their Ancestors lived on the same fare; that † *Strabo* calls the Arabs of his time † L. 16. *Camel-eaters*; that || *St. Hierome* avers, || P. 767. that the Arabs and Saracens, and all Adv. 70. other the barbarous Inhabitants of the Desart, lived upon the Milk and Flesh of vin. l. 2. c. 6.

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of their Camels, (and so says *Abulfarajus*) that both * *Aristotle* and † *Pliny* reckon the Flesh, and the Milk of Camels, not only among the wholesome, but among delicious Meats; and that || *Herodotus* affirms, that the Persians of quality on their Birthdays, (which was a solemn Festival among them) among other Dishes, treated their Friends with a whole Oxe, and a whole Camel drest; that * *Antiphanes* says, that a Camel serv'd up hot was a Feast for a King; and that the Emperor † *Elagabalus* (who was a Native of that part of *Syria*, where the *Emir*, who treated the English Merchants, lived) in imitation of *Apicius* (who was no contemptible Judge of luxurious Eating, having spent a fair Estate in the Gratifications of his Palate, and being since his Death quoted as an Author for all the Varieties of the old Cookery) used to eat the feet of Camels, as an extraordinary Dish; and when he would appear magnificent, caus'd to be brought in at Supper entire Camels

* *Hist. arab. l. 6.*

† *Plin. l. 26.*

|| *Herodotus l. 1.*

|| *In Clia.*

* *Apud. Athen. l. 4.*

† *Lamprid. p. 108.*

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Camels for the Service of his Friends.

Pilaw (or Rice) is another Dish among the Arabs, as also among the Persians, Indians and Turks, and so it was of old, says * *Strabo*. The Arabs * *Lib. 15.* of this Age live as their Ancestors, who wandred up and down with their Families, and Catrel, and fixt for a while, where ever they found Water for themselves, and Grass, for their Herds; their Tents are now, as of old, made of Camels Hair, (the Camel is in truth the most useful of Animals to them; the Flesh is their Meat, the Milk their Drink, their Tents are made of their Hair, their Carriage is upon Camels, and their Riches a numerous Herd of them) they marry as many Wives as they are able to maintain; *Am. Marcellin. l. 23. c. 6.* generally hate Drunkenness, and avoid it as the Plague; never make Water standing, nor ease nature, but in a place of great Privacy; and those, who are military Men, sit arm'd at the Table, and never put off their Scimitars till they

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they go to bed; all which Customs *Ammianus* observ'd were practis'd among the old Inhabitants of those Countries. They measure their Journeys, not by leagues or miles, but by hours and days, as the old Syrians did; impaling is a Punishment usual to this day, and the Criminal is forc't to carry his Stake to the place of Execution, as the Person to be crucified anciently carried his Cross. The Custom of putting the whole Family to Death for the Offence of the Chief of it, (of notorious and hainous, as the Murder of their Prince, or the like) is not quite disus'd to this day in *Persia*; and as *Valerian*, and others were dead alive, so was *Marc Antonio Bragadini*, the *Venetian* Governor of *Famagusta*, tortur'd by the Turks, when *Cyprus* was taken; his Skin being salted and stuf'd, according to the old *Persian* Method. And as the same *Valerian*, clad in his Royal Purple, with his Back lifted *Sapores* into the Saddle; so was *Bajazet* forc't to assist *Tamerlane*, when he mounted.

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The Men of Condition used of old to ride with a Banner, and so they continue to do to this day. A Present of one or more Changes of Raiment was a Mark of Favour among the *Ægyptians*, Jews and Syrians, as long since as the days of the Patriarch *Joseph*; and the Habit (the *Calaat*) sent by the Grand Seignior, or the King of *Persia*, to any Subject or Foreigner, is now one of the highest Instances of Royal Bounty.

In the Monuments of their Dead the *Persians* of former Ages placed *Magi* to keep the Tomb; and in this present Age the Mahometans give a Maintenance to a greater or less number of *Moullah's*, who read the Law in the *Moschees*, and take care of the Sepulchres, where their Princes are interr'd. And as of old they hired their Women Mourners to make a solemn Lamentation at Funerals, so now the Jewish Women are hired for the same purpose. I shall add no more, but that at *Aleppo*, (as my worthy Friend

Mr.

*Arrian. l. 6.
expedit.
Alex. p. 144*

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Mr. *Aaron Goodyear* informs me, to whom I profess my self indebted for many useful Notices) in the Month of *June* the Women go to the River, and with solemn Sorrow bewaile *Tammuz*, and afterward make themselves very merry ; which is no other, than the practice of one of the oldest Superstitions in the World, of which I shall treat at large.

*Apollodor.
Bibliot. l. 3.
c. 13.*

The Heathen Mythologists affirm, that *Cinyras* the Assyrian founded the City of *Paphos* in the Island of *Cyprus* ; where, having married the Daughter of the King of that Country, he begat *Oxyporus* and *Adonis* ; that *Adonis* was very beautiful, and beloved by *Venus*, when an Infant, who, that he might be bred carefully, sent him to *Proserpina* to be educated ; but when she came to demand him, *Proserpina* refus'd to deliver her Charge ; whereupon the Controversy was decided by *Jupiter*, that the Youth should stay a third part of the year with *Proserpina*, another third with *Venus*, and the remainder

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mainder should be at his own Disposal. But *Adonis* being pleas'd with the Charms of Beauty, chose to spend two thirds of his time with *Venus*, who passionately loved him ; for which reason *Diana* being displeas'd with him, sent a wild Boar to assault him, by whose Teeth he fell a Sacrifice to her Indignation. But others tell the Story differently, that *Cinyras* lay with his own Daughter *Myrrha*, on whom he begat *Adonis* ; but, being asham'd of his Incest, expos'd the Infant on the top of the Mountains, where the Nymphs nurs'd and kept him, till he grew a most beautiful Youth, spending most of his time in his Sports ; at which Age *Venus* seeing him, fell violently in love with him, and chose him her Gallant ; that this created Jealousy in *Mars*, who turn'd himself into the shape of a wild Boar, and slew him ; which, when *Venus* heard of, she gave her self up to the extravagant Sallies of an ungovernable Grief, and at last resolv'd to follow him into the Shades to demand him there ; but

*Vid. Cyril.
in Is. l. 2.
tom. 3.
p. 274.*

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but *Proserpina* refusing to deliver him, they comprimis'd the Affair, that he should be half the year in the inferior World, and the other half in this; upon which *Venus* return'd very joyful, and having inform'd her Followers of the Agreement, they instituted a solemn Festival, which was continued to be celebrated with all the Demonstrations of publick Exultation.

*Plutarc. de
Isid. &
Osirid.*

This Story, with a little Variation, the Ægyptian Writers (from whom the Asiatics deriv'd most of their Superstitious Rites and Observances) tell us, under the name of *Osiris*, whom *Typhon* nailed up in a Chest, (or Coffin) which he threw into the *Nile*, that it might be swallowed up of the Sea; that *Isis*, as soon as she heard of it, immediately went upon the search of *Osiris*, inquiring of all she met, till at last some Children inform'd her, what *Typhon* had done; whereupon, taking *Anubis* with her, she sailed down the River, and through the Ocean, till she came to *Byblus* in Syria,

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ria, where she found the Ark (or Coffin) resting upon a Sprig of Heath, which she carried with her into the Ship, and so return'd to *Egypt*, and there hid the Coffin at *Butw*, where her Son *Orus* was nurs'd; that *Typhon* hunting in those parts by the Light of the Moon, which was then at full, found the Coffin, and cutting the Body into fourteen pieces scatter'd it up and down in several places; whereupon *Isis* hearing of the Fact, sailed up and down the Marches in a Boat of Reeds, till she had gather'd up the scatter'd Limbs, which she buried in divers places, to prevent any further Attempts of *Typhon*, and to create *Osiris* greater honour. In the Ægyptian Month *Athyr*, they say, *Osiris* was slain; and on the seventeenth of their Month *Tybi*, *Isis* return'd from *Byblus*, having spent almost two Months in the search. From this Original came the practice of the Ægyptian Priests, who upon the first of those Anniversaries pretended, that the Body of *Osiris* was hid in their

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Temples, where, no one knew, where-
upon they lamented him, as if that
had been the very day, wherein he
was murther'd by *Typhon*; they shav'd,
and made bald their Heads,

*V. Herodot. Euterp.
Jul. Firmic. Lucian.
de Deâ Syr. Cyril.
et Procop. in Isai.
18. &c.*

(the Custom of such, as were
in the deepest Mourning) they
thumpt their Breasts, they wan-
dred up and down the Streets
making heavy Lamentations, (in imi-
tation of the Mournings, and Pere-
grinations of *Isis*;) and if there hap-
pen'd to be any of the Inhabitants of
Caria at that time in *Ægypt*, they
flaht their Faces with Knives and Lan-
cets, (as the Priests of *Baal* used to do,
when their Idol would not answer
them;) they cut their Arms, and ve-
ry often made Incisions into the Wounds
of the last year, not quite healed:
And after they had done this for some
time, (*Plutarch* says, for 4 days) they
pretended to find the Body, which
they had been so earnestly looking
for; and on the nineteenth day of the
Month *Athyr*, when it was night the
Priests made their Procession to the
River

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River with an Ark of Gold cover'd
with the holy Stole; upon which, as
soon as they had poured Water, the
By-standers cried out, (*εὕρηκαμεν, συγ-
χαίρομεν*) we have found him, let us
turn our Lamentations into Joy: After
this they return'd and made merry,
treating themselves with Cakes, where-
on they stamp't the Figure of a Sea-
horse, *i. e.* *Typhon*; and at the same
time they wrote an Epistle to the Wo-
men of *Byblus*, that *Adonis* was found,
(for he, whom the *Ægyptians* called
Osiris, the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians* na-
med *Thammuz*, says *St. Hierome*, and
Adonis, says *Cyril* and *Procopius*;) this
Epistle they put into an Earthen Pot,
say the above-named Fathers, (*κερ-
μίδον*, *Lucian* calls it *κεραλὸν βιβλίνον*;) the
Jews say, 'twas an Ark, or little
Ship made of Reeds or Paper, which,
after the performance of some (pro-
bably Magical) Rites, they seal'd and
committed to the Waves, and of its
own accord in seven days time it was
carried by the Winds to *Byblus*, but
never to any other place on the Sea-

The Preface.

coast of *Phœnicia* : And when the Women of that City received it, they put an end to their Lamentations, and begun their joyful Festival with Dances, and solemn Feasting. As the precise time of the beginning the Festival at *Byblus* commenc'd from the hour, in which they receiv'd the Epistle from *Ægypt* ; so the exact time to begin the Mourning was fixt, says *Lucian*, by another extraordinary Circumstance ; the River *Adonis* at that season, from its rise on the side of Mount *Libanus*, to its fall into the Sea, being all bloody, the Sea it self also for a considerable space being discolour'd with the same, (the Natives believing that at that time *Adonis* was actually slain on the Mountain, and that his Blood alter'd the Colour both of the River and the Ocean) though one of the more inquisitive *Byblians* told *Lucian*, that the bloody face of the Waters proceeded from a reddish sort of Earth, which the strong Winds, that at that time used to blow, brought down into the River, and gave the Streams

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Streams their Tincture. At this time the Woman began their Mourning, (having first offer'd the Sacrifices of the Dead to *Adonis*, as the *Ægyptians* used to do) and shaved their Heads, (which, whoever refus'd to do, was by way of Penance obliged for a whole day to prostitute her self to all Strangers, and whatever she got, was to be spent in a Sacrifice to *Venus*) their Lamentations, says * *Am- * L. 19. mianus Marcellinus* being as extravagant, as those of a Mother for an only Son.

The Epistles sent from *Alexandria* to give notice, that *Osiris* or *Adonis* was found, are mention'd, say the Fathers, by the Prophet *Isaiab*, 18. 2. *Wo to the Land that sends their Ambassadors by the Sea in Vessels of Bulls upon the water ; or, as the Septuagint more pertinently, Οὐαὶ τῇς πολλῶν πτερυγῆς — ὁ ἀποστέλλων ἐν θαλάσῃ ὄμματα, ἢ ἐπιστολὰς βιβλίας ἐπ' αἶνω τῷ ὕδατι* (C) and the mournful Solemnity by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, 8. 14.

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who among the abominable Idolatries of the People of the Jews, mentions *the Womens weeping for Thammûz* : For from *Ægypt* the Superstition spread it self over all the neighbouring Countries, over *Phœnicia, Syria, and Cyprus* ; who challeng'd the mock Deity for their own ; nor did the peculiar People of

Cyrl. in Is. Is. διεμνηνέται ὁ Θαμμὺς ὁ Ἀδωνίς ; ita & Procop. in loc. & Theodorit, in Ezek. 8. Hieron. ib. Stephan. π. πολ. Ἀμαθὺς πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη, ἐν ᾗ Ἀδωνίς Ὀσπρὶς ἐπμάτο. ἐν Αἰγυπτίῳ οὐκ ἄντα Κύπριοι, καὶ φοίνικες ἰδιόποιδίσαι, Procop. ubi sup. τῶν πλείων ἐργῶν καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι δυσχερέστες μετέλαβον.

God, the Israelites, escape the Infection, but they also fell into the same Madness.

The old Arabian *Zabii*, says *Ben Maimon*, affirm, that in that night in which *Thammûz* was slain, all the Idols that were in the World, met at *Babylon* in the Temple of the Sun, who related to them what had befall'n *Thammûz* ; whereupon the Images wept, and lamented all night, and the next Morning every one of them flew back

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back to his old station : From whence, says he, came the Custom of Mourning early in the Morning over *Thammûz*, in the Month called by his name : the Month *Thammûz*, says *St. Hierome*, answers to our *June* ; and the Jewish Astronomers call the Sun's entrance into *Cancer, Thekupha Thammuz*, the Revolution or Period of *Thammuz*. The whole Feast was called by the Greeks, Ἀδωνία, or Ἀδωνιασμός ; the Death of the mock God Ἀφανισμός, the Search after him Ζήτησις, the find him Εὕρησις. The Festivals having a place in the old Kalendar ; in which we find *Isid. Aavigium*, not *Lavatio*, ^{Gruter, 138, 139.} as *Vrsinus* reads it, but *navigium*, as it ought to be read ; and in another Month *Heurifis*. The whole had its Mythological Moral ; for by *Adonis*, ^{V. Macrobian. Saturnal. l. 1. c. 21.} *Osiris*, and *Thammuz*, was meant the Sun, who when the Summer Solstice was past, moving backward toward the South, seemed to have deprived the Northern Hemisphere of his Presence, and Influences.

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*L. 2. c. 4.
L. 4. c. 14. * *Julius Pollux* says, that the Inhabitants of *Phœnicia* called *Adonis*, *Gingras*, probably from the name of a Pipe, made of the Bone of a Goose-leg, which they used in his Solemnity, which made a very melancholy, and sorrowful Musick; and they had a Dance called by the same name in remembrance of the first Inventor of Husbandry, who died in the Summer-time, as he was hunting, and who is honour'd yearly with a mournful Song by the Farmers of the Country, (who at that time used to sow their Wheat and Barley in the Fields near the Cities, says the Scholiast on *Therocritus*) accompanied by as doleful Instrumental Musick. The Custom still in use at *Aleppo* of frequenting the River at this Festival, I presume had its Original also in *Ægypt*, where the Inhabitants paid a peculiar Veneration to the Waters of *Nilus*, as *St. Athanasius*, who was born there, affirms; and *Lactantius* adds, that they worshipt the River yearly, because there *Isis* begun her search of *Osiris*.

That

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That all this Pomp was older than the Jewish Captivity, the holy Writ avers; it lasted to the days of *Plutarch*, and the Astronomer *Ptolomee*, who mention it; (as do almost all the old Apologists for Christianity:) *Julius Pollux* enumerates the Ceremonies of the Mourning in the Reign of *Commodus*; and *Lucian* avers, that he saw one of those little Arks that brought the Letter from *Alexandria* floating into the Harbour, while he was at *Byblus*; the practice continued in *Ægypt*, when *Cyril* was Patriarch there, about the year 440 after Christ, and in *Phœnicia* in the times of *Procopius* of *Gaza*, who lived above a 100 years after *Cyril*; and to this day is in use at *Aleppo*, as my honoured Friend informs me, and probably in some other Cities of that Country.

I thought it necessary to make this Digression, which is not disagreeable to my Subject; and if the Reader (whom I earnestly desire to correct the

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the Errata, before he begins the Book) find any advantage by the Undertaking, I shall not think my time ill employ'd.

The

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A View of the Ruines of

The Temple now inhabited.

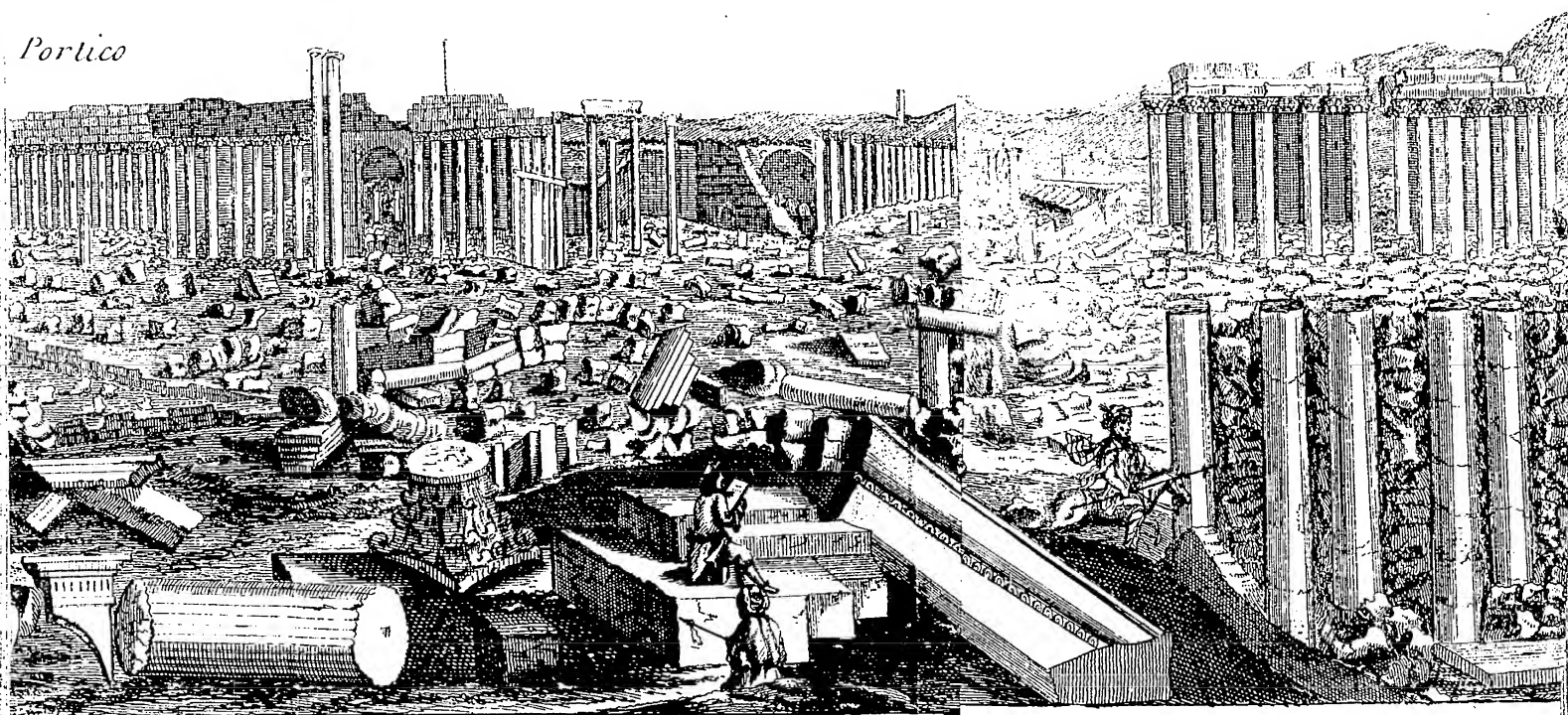


Porphyry Pillars.

The Portico

of Palmyra alias Tadmor, &c.

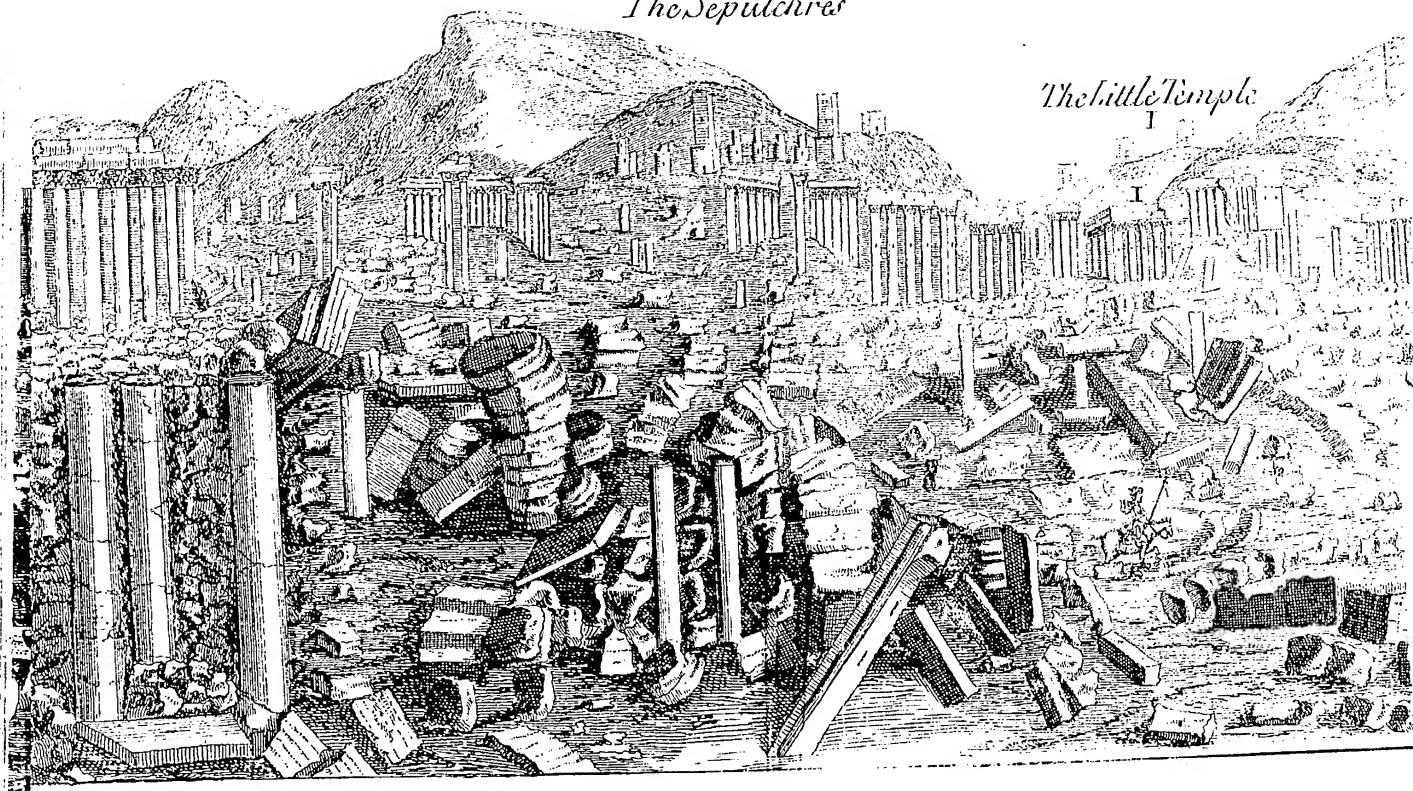
Portico



r, taken on the Southern Sea

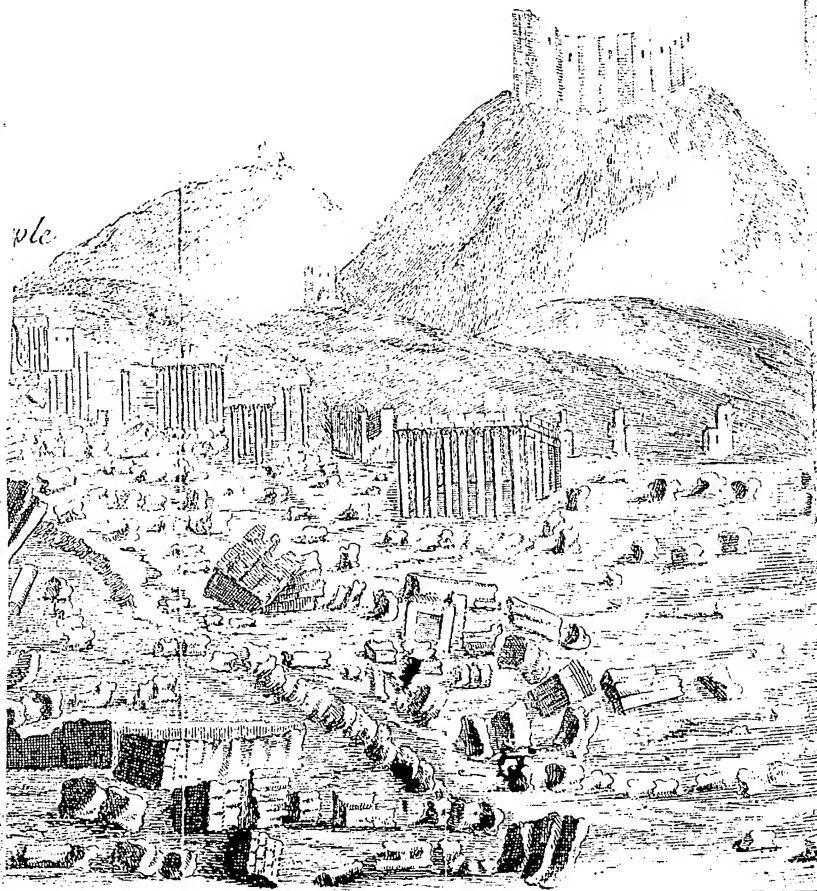
The Sepulchres

The Little Temple



Side.

The Castle



THE HISTORY OF Palmyra.

HISTORIES of Remote Countries, and Strange Revolutions, have been always entertained with Respect : And the pleasure of Seeing at so great a Distance, and Hearing of dismal Catastrophe's, wherein we have no other immediate share, but that of Wonder and Pity, is not to be reckon'd among the meanest Satisfaction's of a Wise Man's Life ; since every Turn of Providence in a Foreign Nation, every new Scene of Prosperity or Adversity is a Lesson to the rest of the World : And
B the

the best Rules of Behaviour both for a publick and private Capacity, are deducible from such remarkable Occurrences.

And among all the great Revolutions that have call'd for the Astonishment and Commiseration of Mankind, the several Fortunes of *Palmyra* are not the least remarkable; a Country far distant from our Region, distinguish'd by Nature from the rest of the World by a separate Situation; and an Empire, that in the space of Ten Years over-ran all the *East*, baffled the Forces of the *Persians*, subdued *Egypt*, and made all *Asia* to the *Hellepont* tremble; But in a few Months afterward was stript of all its Grandeur, and by degrees reduced to the lowest state of Poverty, as it is this day. Of this Country I intend to treat, of its Founder, and Antiquity; its Situation, and Plenty; its Government Ecclesiastical and Civil; and its several Fortunes and Conditions, as far as my Reading will assist me, till some more able Critick shall undertake the Task; and I shall begin with such an Account of the Place as the Antients furnish us with.

C H A P.

C H A P. I.

WHEN *Solomon* had finish'd his stupendious *Temple at Jerusalem* (which better deserv'd to be reckon'd among the *World's Wonders*, than that at *Ephesus*,) and the Noble Palace which he built for himself, in the Twentieth Year of his Reign he made War against *Hamath-Zobah*, which had been subdued by *David*, but revolted; and having conquer'd it, he built *Tadmor* in the Wilderness, the *Upper* and *Nether Bethboron*, *Baalath*, and all the Store-Cities, which he strongly fortify'd with Walls, and Gates, and Bars; they being his Frontier Towns, and the Limits of his vast Empire: For he reign'd over all the Kings from the River (*Euphrates*) to the Land of the *Philistines*, and to the Border of *Egypt*. From *Tiphac* even to *Azzah*: i. e. from *Gaza* to *Thapsacus*, which Was one of the Passes over the *Euphrates*.

The *Arabick* Translator of *2 Chron. 8. 3.* implies, that *Tadmor* was a City before *Solomon's* time, and that he only re-

B 2

edified

edified it; that it was a Metropolis of old, as it was in the latter times, and had many Towns under its Jurisdiction: nor is it altogether improbable, those Parts of the World near the Place where the Ark rested after the Deluge ceas'd, being first peopled. The Arabick Hi-

* *Verf. Poc.* † *John Matela*, avers, That *Solo-*
p. 53. *mon*, in the Twenty fourth Year of his Reign, having destroy'd the City of *Antioch*, built seven Cities in its stead, of which *Tadmor* was one. But the Fabulous Historian of *Antioch*,

† *Par. I.*
p. 185.
8c *Par. 2.*
p. 152.

the Foundations of *Palmyra* were lay'd in the same place in which *David* slew *Goliath*, and cut off his Head with his own Sword; and that King *Solomon*, in Memory of this great Victory, built a Noble City there, and, from the Fate of the Giant, call'd it *Palmyra*. While

‡ *Antiq.*
l. 8. c. 2.

|| *Josephus* thus informs us, That *Solomon*, after he had built *Gazara*, which *Pharoah*, having taken it from the *Philistines*, gave to his Daughter, not far from it built two Cities, *Betachora*, and *Baleth*, with other Places, to which he might retire for his Pleasure, that he might enjoy a temperate Air, excellent

lent Fruits, and pleasant Streams: From whence he past into the Desert above *Syria*, and making himself Master of it, lay'd the Foundations of a great City (which * he beautified with extraordinary Buildings) two Days Journey from the *Upper Syria*, and one from *Euphrates*, but from *Babylon* six Days Journey. And the reason why he built this City so far from the inhabited Places of *Syria*, was, that in the Upper Parts there was no Water, but in that Place only there were Fountains and Wells (as it appears by the *Peutinger Tables*, that near it stood the *Centum Putei*.) (a) When therefore he had built the City, and fenced it with strong Walls, he named it *Tadmor*, as it is now called by the *Syrians*, while the *Greeks* call it *Palmyra*.

* *Hier. in*
Ezek. 47.

(a) Concerning the Names *Tadmur*, and *Palmyra*, consult the *Appendix*.

C H A P. II.

From its *Founder* and *Name*, I shall proceed to consider its *Situation* and *Plenty*. As to its *Situation*, from the Description that *Josephus* gives of it, it is plain, that, though it stood in a Desert Country, it was a very Fertile Spot of Ground, the Air being very moderate and healthy : For when * *Longinus* invites his Friend *Porphyry* thither, he encourages him to undertake the Journey, upon two Accounts ; first, That they might renew their old Friendship ; secondly, That he might recover his broken Health, by the excellency of the Air of *Palmyra*.

* *Epist. ad Porph.*

† *Lib. 8. p. 205.* † *Ptolemy* places it East from *Alexandria*; (in the same Climate with *Antioch*, *Seleucia*, *Hierapolis*, *Emesa*, and other Cities of *Alexandria*, says the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicon*,) in the Longit. of 71 deg. 30 min. and the Latit. of 34 deg. the Longest Day being there above 14 Hours.

Chron. Alex. p. 82.

The first Inhabitants of *Tadmur*, I conjecture, were the Sons of *Abraham* by

by *Keturah* ; for they are said to be sent by their Father into the East, *Gen. 25. 6. i. e.* into the East from *Jerusalem*, and the *Land of Canaan*, into the Deserts of *Arabia*, and the Countries bordering on the *Euphrates*, whose Inhabitants are called, in Holy Writ, *The Children of the East* ; and were, for that reason also, call'd *Saracens*, that is, *Oriental*s, or *Easterlings*, (as our most Learned *Pocock* affirms.) Now the *Saracens* are said by * *Amm. Marcellinus*, * *Lib. 23. cap. ult.* to be the *Arabes Scenitæ* (though *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* distinguish them) to whom the *Palmyrenians* were conterminous, if not the same ; and for this reason, I doubt not, but *Odenathus*, in all the latter Writers, is call'd the *King* of the *Saracens* ; though *Zenobia*, in her Letter to *Aurelian*, distinguishes the *Saracens* from her Subjects, reckoning the *Saracens* among her Foreign Troops and Auxiliaries. In the *Ecclesiastick Notitia*, it is accounted a part of *Phœnicia Libanesis*. And *Porphyry*, treating of *Longinus's* Inviting him to *Palmyra*, says, He undertook to persuade him to leave *Sicily*, and to travel into *Phœnicia*. Others make it a part of

B 4 *Arabia* ;

Arabia ; but 'tis commonly reputed by *Ptolemy*, and others, a part of *Syria*, as *Phœnicia* is another part of that large Country : though *Zenobia*, in her Letter above-mentioned, distinguishes the *Palmyrenians* from the *Syrians*, (as

* L. I. p. 40. * *Zosimus* also does.

That it stood in a *Wilderneß*, besides the Holy Writ, and *Josephus*, † *Pliny*, who was Contemporary with the Jewish Historian, agrees, who thus describes it :
 ' *Palmyra* is a City eminent in its Situation, in the riches of its Soil, and its pleasant Streams, being surrounded on every side with a vast Defart of Sand :
 ' It seems to have been separated from the rest of the World, and did preserve its Liberty in a private Condition between the two Mighty Empires, the *Roman* and *Parthian* ; and as soon as any War happens to break out, it is equally their care to engage it on their side, and in their Interest : It is distant from *Seleucia* on the *Tygris* 337 Miles ; from the neighbouring Shore of *Syria*, or the *Mediterranean*, 203 ; and from *Damascus* 176. The same Author, in other places also, mentions the *Solitudes* of *Palmyra* ; beyond which,

* *Nat. Hist.*
 tom. 1. l. 1.
 §. 21. p. 583.
 ad *Parif.*

which, on one hand, is *Stelendena* (a Country not so much as nam'd by other Writers ;) on the other side, they reacht home to *Emesa* ; and to the Westward, as far as *Petra* in *Arabia Felix*, from whence to the *Persian Gulf*, it was all Defart.

It was distant from the *Euphrates* a Day's Journey, says * *Josephus* : Not * *Ubi sup.* far from that Noble River, says † *Ap- † Lib. 5.* *pian*, (for as soon as *Marc. Antony* *Bell. Civ.* threaten'd the Sack of the City, the *p. 676.* inhabitants immediately transported all their Goods beyond the River, the Banks of which they defended with their Archers, and so leaving the Town empty, baffled the Design, and deceiv'd the Expectations of the *Roman Troops*,) but situate by a River that run by its Walls, whose Name *Ptolemy* either knew not, or omitted. But other Geographers call it *Palmyra*, affirming, that it had its Rise in the *Pal- Domin. Marius Niger, Maginus, &c.* *myrene* Mountains, ran through the Country, and at last emptied it self into the *Euphrates*, though now there are no footsteps of its course left : Nor is it a wonder, that a small River should be swallowed up in a long tract of
 of

of Time, of such vast quantities of Sand.

When *Solomon* built it, he gave it all the Advantages of Strength and Security that the Rules of Fortification in that Age allowed of; and it continued so as long as it was a Frontier Garrison, fenc'd with strong Walls, and an advantageous Situation; but better guarded by a brave Garrison, the Militia of *Palmyra* being esteem'd very stout. Their Archers were excellent Marks-men, says * *Appian*, and their Horse-men well armed with heavy Armour, and very secure, (the Army of *Zenobia*, saith the Historian, consisting of Archers, and Horse-men arm'd Cap-a-pé,) who, notwithstanding the weight of their Arms, were much better Horse-men than the *Romans*; and such a Value did they set upon their Horses, that no greater Affront or Disgrace could be offer'd to a *Palmyrenian*, than to take his Horse from him. Nor did the *Romans* disdain their Assistance; for in their Militia with the *Assyrians* and *Moors*, the Inhabitants of *Palmyrene* and *Osroene* were muster'd.

* *Ubi sup.*

Zosim. l. I.
p. 44.

|| *Zonar.*
tom. 2.
p. 237.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

PALMYRA was the Metropolis of the Province, and gave it its Name, being a Place of great Antiquity, and great Trade; Rich, says *Pliny*, in the Fertility of its Soil, but much more so by its Commerce; for it had not only the Advantage of its own Commodities, but was the Thorough-fare of all the Merchants that liv'd beyond it toward the *Mediterranean*, who traded to *Forath*, and *Charax*, and other Ports on the *Persian* Gulf, if I rightly understand * *Pliny*, who says, that at *Petra* * *Nat. Hist.* in *Arabia* the two Ways met, both of those who came through *Palmyra* (probably from *Antioch*, *Seleucia* in *Pisidia*, *Laodicea*, and other conterminous Places,) and of those also who came from *Gaza*, travelling towards the Gulf, it being impossible, but the Caravans, who made that their constant Road both to and from *Persia*, must help to enrich the Stages where they Baited.

But this was not all its Happiness; its Inhabitants were great Merchants, says

* *Ubi sup.* says * *Appian.* And *Marc. Antony* thought the Plunder of this City a sufficient Recompence for all the Fatigues and Hardships which his Horse endured in that Countrey, during the *Persian War*, tho' he failed of his Attempt: They had form'd themselves into a *Company*, under a President and Governor of their own. (An *East-India Trade* cannot well be carry'd on by a single Person, though he were one of the Merchants of *Tyre*, who were Companions of Princes.) For I find in one of the Inscriptions, that *Septimius Orodes* was honour'd with an Illustrious Testimonial from (a) the Presidents, or Chiefs of the Merchants. And I doubt not, but they carry'd the Manufactures, and other Commodities of *Asia*, down the *Euphrates* to *Balsora*,

(a) Μαγιστρωσις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχεμπούρου, a word that appears in no Author, that I know of. ἑμπορεύομαι, Ἀρχεμπορεύομαι, like ἐκμισθίζω, ἀρχεμισθίζω (*Etym. M. p. 474.*) or διέμπορεύομαι, ἀρχεδιέμπορεύομαι, ὁ ἡγεμὸν τοῦ εἵματος, (*Id. ib.*) Those Governors of the Affairs of Trade were called at *Athens* ἑμπολιταὶ ἑμπορίας (*Etym. M. & Harpocrat. v. ἑμπολιταί.*) Their Number, says *Aristotle*, was Ten: Their Business, to Over-see the Ports, and to take care of the Corn that was brought thither; for which purpose they had their ἐμπορία τῷ οἴκῳ, and it was reckon'd among the most Honourable Benefactions, to build such a Granary. *Philostrat. Vit. Polemon. Smyrna.* Τὰν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐμπορίαν δεσποῖσιν, καὶ θυμῷ.

or perhaps no farther than *Vologesia*, ^{Vid. App. pend.} and brought from *Persia* the Merchandizes of *India* and *Arabia*, and so furnish't the *Romans* with Spices, and Silks, and other rich Goods: For though they are said to lie far from the Sea, and without the advantage of the River (which must be retracted, since it anciently had the assistance of a River, though it is since lost in the Sands,) yet it must be acknowledged, they were not far from the *Euphrates*, a Noble and Navigable River, and had the conveniency of their Camels and Dromedaries, by which sort of Carriage all the Riches of the East were formerly brought into *Europe* by Caravans, before the Cape of *Good-Hope* was discover'd.

But *Palmyra* had its own Product, Salt, with which the Inhabitants now drive a trade; and Dates, the Fruits of their Palm-Trees, which were not only great Delicacies at *Rome*, and elsewhere, (for *Nicolaus Damascenus* ^{Plut. Sympos. 8. qu. 4.} thought the Dates of *Syria* a fit Present for *Augustus*, and *Phœnicia* hath its

its Name from its (a) Palm-Trees, but was of the same Use to the *Asiatics*, that the Cocoa is to the *Indians*, if we may believe * *Strabo*, who affirms, that the Country about *Euphrates* produces great quantities of Barley, but that the want of all other things was supplied by their Palm-Trees; that that single Tree afforded the Inhabitants both Wine and Vinegar, Honey and Meal; and out of it they wove their Cloaths: The Shells serve the Smiths for Fire; and when you have soakt the Shells in Water, you may feed your Cattle, your Oxen and Sheep with them: And 'tis reported, that there is a *Persic* Poem, which enumerates Three hundred and sixty Uses (one for every Day of the old Year) of the Palm-Tree. † In some Places of *Arabia* they are perfum'd: And those in || *Syria*, as they are most Beautiful to

* *Lib.* 16.
p. 746.

† *Id.* p. 778.

|| *Plut. ubi*
sup.

(a) The Countrey being call'd *Palmifera*, and the Palm-Tree plac'd commonly on the reverse of their Coins: For which reason, I believe, that the Tree in the Palmyrene Marble, that stands between *Alagbelus* and *Malachbelus*, is not a *Pine*, as *Gruet* and Monsieur *Spon* affirm, but a *Palm-Tree* ill grav'd.

the

the Eye, so they are of a most delicious Taste to the Palate.

And the Ruines of its pompous Buildings yet standing, erected before it became the Seat of the Eastern Empire, are a further and undeniable Demonstration, that, notwithstanding its unhappy Situation in the Confines of two such Potent and Contentious Neighbours, as the *Romans* and the *Parthians*, it was once a very Flourishing and Wealthy Place, though now it looks like the Residence of Beggery and Famine.

C H A P.

C H A P. IV.

THE Government of Palmyra comes next to be consider'd, both in Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs. And first, in Civil Affairs.

As long as it was in the hands of Solomon, I question not but it was govern'd, as the rest of his Provinces were, by such Lieutenants as himself appointed (the *στρατηγοὶ ὁ ἡγεμόνες* of the several *κληροχίαι*, whom * Josephus mentions) under Rehoboam, I take it for granted, it revolted with the rest of Syria, when Rezin became King of Damascus: but whether it submitted to the Power of Rezin, or form'd it self into a Commonwealth, as it was afterwards, or what its Government was till the days of Augustus, we have no Records. In his time, probably, it was govern'd by a Prince, or *Toparch*; almost every Town in Parthia, and the neighbouring Syria, upon the Death of Julius Cæsar, or rather after the fatal Overthrow of Crassus, being seiz'd upon by some Tyrant, the Parthians sup-

* Ant. l. 8.
c. 2.

Appian. l. 5.
Bell. Civil.
p. 671.

porting them in their Usurpations, having been invited by those Royetelets to their Assistance. But supposing that it had fallen under one of those petty Princes, in Pliny's time it recover'd its old Form of Government; for he affirms, that in his days Palmyra was (*αὐτονόμου*, *sui juris*) neither subject to the Romans, nor the Parthians, as F. Harduin well interprets the words (*privatâ sorte*) of the Natural Historian. And * Aurelian, in his Letter to Zenobia, when he requires her to surrender herself, promises, that the Inhabitants of the Country should be govern'd by their own Laws. And of this the Inscriptions are an unquestionable Evidence, wherein (a) the Senate and People of Palmyra are frequently said to have erected Monuments to those Illustrious Persons who had deserved well of the Republick. And Septi-

* Vopisc
Aurel.

(a) Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος, &c. Σεπτήμιου Ὀδαννάθου ὁ λαμπρότατος συγκλητικός. Σεπτήμιου Αἰρένης Ὀδαννάθου λαμπρότατος συγκλητικός. Ρυπίλιου Οὐδρόδου συγκλητικός, καὶ βουλευτὴς Ἀγέλαπας γεσσηματεύς το β'. — ἱερὸν πραιτωρίον.

C

mins

mius Odenathus, and *Septimius Atranus* his Son, are said to be Men of the Senatorian Dignity ; and *Rupilius Orodes*, both a Senator, and of the Council of State.

In the Reign of *Antoninus Caracalla* it was a Roman Colony, as appears by the Coins : But under *Odenathus* and his Sons it became the Seat of the Oriental Empire, conquer'd all *Egypt*, and forc'd a great part of the Roman Empire to acknowledge its Jurisdiction, being possess'd of all the East as far as *Ancyra*, and in a fair way to possess all *Bythynia*, as far as *Chalcedon*, had not the Natives taken Arms in behalf of *Aurelian* : But it is now under an Arab Prince, Nominated by, and Tributary to the Ottoman Port.

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

THE Religion of Palmyra, where it was subject to King Solomon, was, I question not, Jewish ; but how long they retain'd Circumcision among them, after God in his just Judgment had confin'd Rehoboam's Kingdom to narrower Limits, I know not : This is very plain, that very many of the Proper Names of the Inhabitants in after Ages are Jewish, and Zenobia her self (who by her Name appears to have been a Syrian, and probably of Tadmur, for there her Father liv'd when she lost her Empire, though she deriv'd her self Originally from Cleopatra Queen of Egypt) was a Jewess. And 'tis not altogether unlikely, that Longinus, in Compliance to the Religion of his Mistress, in his admirable Treatise of the Sublime, speaks so honourably of Moses and his Writings. And if we may credit Benjamin Tudelensis, even in his time there were Two thousand profess'd Jews Inhabitants of that City. In process of time, I doubt not but they

C 2 blended

blended the Jewish Rites with those of the Gentiles, (as the new Inhabitants of *Samaria* did, after the Natives had been transported by *Shalmanezzer*,) till at last Paganism prevail'd.

After Christianity was planted in the World, and *St. Thaddeus* had preach'd the Gospel by our Blessed Saviour's own Order at *Edeffa*; I believe, that Holy Religion soon spread it self into the Neighbourhood, even to *Tadmur*, tho' Paganism was not quite dispossest; as appears by the Inscriptions to their Country Gods, *Alagbelus*, and *M. Malachbelus*, *Jaribolus*, *Venus Aphacitis*, and others, who all had at *Palmyra* their Temples, Priests, and Services. It was very early an Episcopal See, if not an Archiepiscopal, because it was the Metropolis of a Country: but in the Subscriptions of the ancient Councils, or the *Notitiæ* of the Church, we have very little or no mention of its Prelates. *Marinus*, Bishop of *Palmyra*, is said to have subscribed the Canons of the First General Council at *Niece*; and in the Sixth Act of that at *Chalcedon*, *John* Bishop of *Palmyra* being absent, made his Subscription by the

Hand

Hand of the Archbishop of *Damascus*: At which time (as from its being ruin'd by *Aurelian*), it held the rank of a poor Bishoprick, and was under the Metropolitan of *Damascus*: But in the *Notitia* collected by *Leo the Wise*, *Edeffa* is the Metropolis of *Phœnicia Libanefia*, in the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, whose Suffragans were the Bishops of *Laodicea*, *Palmyra*, &c. by which it appears, that in *Leo's* time, *Ann. Dom.* 900. it was still a Bishoprick; and when it lost that Honour, I cannot determine.

In the *Roman Martyrology* of *Baronius*, on the 15th. of *June* is celebrated the Memory of the Saints *Lybia* and *Leonis*, who were Sisters; and of *Eutropia*, a Girl of Twelve Years old, all of *Palmyra*, who by divers Torments obtain'd the Crown of Martyrdom. It is true, there is no mention of these Brave Women in the Old *Roman Martyrology*, as *Rosweyd* accounts it, nor in *Ado* of *Vienna*, but the Acts of *St. Febronia*, who suffer'd under *Dioclesian* at *Sibapolis* (perhaps *Scythopolis*, or the *Συε'λαι πόλις*) in *Syria*, mention them, as Persons who suffer'd in the same cruel Persecution. It is plain, from the Inscrip-

V. Mart.
Jun. 25.

tions found at *Tadmur*, that *Dioclesian* had been in that Country ; and from the Church-Historians, that he rais'd a violent Persecution in *Syria* : And that which gave Rise to it, was in all likelihood that which *Eusebius* observes, that, a little while after the Christians of *Nicodemia* had felt the Fury of the Emperor, several Confederacies were form'd in *Melitene*, and other Parts of *Syria*, to seize the Empire, and to dethrone *Dioclesian*. Now, in every Insurrection or Tumult, the Christians were sure to suffer, as the Authors of Sedition, though they were the most Peaceable and Loyal Men in the World, both by Principle and Practice.

Thus Christianity subsisted in those days of Persecution, when the Number of Martyrs encreas'd the Number of Confessors : But then Peace and Plenty were, by the Bounty of the Great *Constantine* and his Successors made the Churches Patrimony. I question not but the Followers of our Blessed Saviour, at *Palmyra*, had their share of the Prosperity which their Brethren enjoy'd ; till the Viciousness of the Christian Morals, and the execrable Opinions

nions and Heresies that debauched the Faith of the Orientals, subjected those once Famous Churches to the Mahometan Yoke : For as soon as *Syria* submitted to the Power, and acknowledg'd the Dominion of the Successors of that False Prophet, I presume, *Palmyra* was by degrees reduc'd to the mean Condition in which it now is ; for perhaps, no one City hath run so many risks of different Fortune, as *Palmyra*, though it hath hitherto preserv'd its ancient Name and Situation ; while, of *Ctesiphon* and *Persopolis*, *Niniveh* and *Babylon*, with many other Cities in that part of *Asia*, it may be averr'd, what the Psalmist says of *Sodom*, and the other Cities which God destroyed, *their Memorial is perisht with them*.

C H A P. VI.

IT is a very difficult Task, to give a just and clear Account of the several Fates of Ancient Kingdoms and Governments, especially when Nature hath seem'd to please it self, by placing them in a remote Situation, and at a distance both of Place and Communication from other Nations : And this is the case of *Tadmur*, which was repair'd, if not built by *Solomon*, a Great, a Wise, and a Victorious Prince, who beautify'd it with whatever might afford it Strength and Ornament ; lost, I take it for granted, in a little time after, under his Son *Rehoboam*, when, through his Folly, and God's just Judgment, the greatest part of his Territories revolted from him. I conjecture, that as long as the Kingdom of *Damascus* kept up its Grandeur, so long *Palmyra* was in Peace, either under those Kings, or under the Conduct of its own Senate : But when *Pharoah Necob* went up against the King of *Affyria* to the River *Euphrates*, and made himself Master of all *Syria*, I doubt not

2 King, 23.
29.

but

but it was for a while subject to him, till *Nebuchadnezzar* conquer'd all those Countries home to the Gates of *Pelufium*, now *Damiata*. The * Fabulous * ^{70. Malef.} Historian of *Antioch* would have the ^{par. 2. pag.} World believe, that when *Nebuchadnezzar* intended to Besiege *Jerusalem*, it was in the hands of the *Jews*, who had Mann'd it with a very stout Garrison ; and that Victorious Prince, not thinking fit to leave a Place so well fortified behind him, sat down before it ; and when he had taken it, burnt it, and then besieg'd and took *Jerusalem*. ^{152.}

After this, it continued tributary to the Princes of the *Babylonish* and *Persian* Empires, though perhaps govern'd by a Senate of its own Citizens ; and in the same State it remain'd under the Successors of the Great *Alexander* (the Kings of *Syria*) being united by *Seleucus*, I doubt not, to the rest of his Territories ; whence, in like manner, as the other Cities under his Government, it receiv'd the Use of the Syrian *Epocha*, the *Æra Antiochena*, *Dhilearnain*, or *Seleucidarum*, and the Names of the Macedonian Months, which the Inscriptions undeniably prove.

C H A P.

C H A P. VII.

* Bell.Civ.
l. 5. p. 676.

SYRIA (says * *Appian*) was govern'd by the Posterity of *Seleucus Nicator*, to the days of *Antiochus Pius*, and his Son: but when *Pompey the Great* conquer'd it, and made it a Province, it was govern'd by a Roman President: The first who bore that Office, was *Scaurus*; and after him, though not immediately, *Gabinus*. *Gabinus* was succeeded by *Crassus*, who being slain by the *Parthians* left his Government to *Bibulus*. But whether, in all this space of time, while the Roman Eagle hover'd over the East, *Palmyra* was a Sharer in in the Common Calamity, and felt the Talons of that Bird of Prey, we have no Accounts.

After the Death of *Julius Cæsar*, every City submitted to a Prince of their own; the *Parthians* affording them their Assistance, having, upon the Invitation of those Tyrants, penetrated *Syria*. This incens'd *Marc Antony*, who expell'd the Usurpers, exacted heavy Taxes from other Cities, and attempted

Pal-

Palmyra. For when *Cleopatra*, who waited on him in *Cilicia*, was return'd home, *Antony*, who had given himself up to her Embraces, and, to the loss of his Honour, obey'd all her Dictates, commanded his Horse to Plunder *Palmyra*, upon the light and trifling pretext, that by reason of their Situation in the Confines of the *Romans* and *Parthians*, the *Palmyrenians* were firm to neither Interest, but minded their own Profit, and, the Encrease of their Trade and Merchandise; but in truth, that he might pay his Soldiers with the Spoils of that wealthy City.

The Inhabitants of *Palmyra* being aware of the Invasion, carry'd all their rich Moveables to the other side of the River, the Banks of which they lined with their Archers. Upon which, *Antony's* Troops finding the City empty of Inhabitants, and of the Riches they so eagerly coveted, having lost their labour, return'd to their Camp. This Invasion occasion'd the next Parthian War, many of the petty Princes of *Syria* flying for Shelter to the *Parthians*, while *Marc Antony*, having been so scandalously foyl'd, stay'd no longer in

Syria

Syria to settle Affairs, and quiet Disturbances, but hasten'd into *Egypt* to attend *Cleopatra*, to whom he had entirely devoted himself and his Fortunes.

C H A P. VIII.

IN this state of Freedom, Ease and Plenty, it continued under *Augustus*; and the succeeding Emperors govern'd by their own Officers and Laws, as *Pliny* expressly avers, till the Reign of *Trajan*, when, I conjecture, it fell into the same Common Calamity with *Edessa*, *Nisibis*, and other Frontier Towns of the East (whose fate it is commonly to be harraßt on both sides;) for *Trajan* having, in his Sixth Consulate, declar'd War against the *Armenians* and *Parthians*, upon the pretext, That the King of *Armenia* had receiv'd his Crown from the King of *Persia*, whereas he ought to have taken it from the hands of the Roman Emperor; but in truth, stimulated by his desire of

*Dio Cass.
Traj.*

Vain.

Vain-glory, made an Expedition into the East, reduc'd *Armenia*, and settled the Government of that Countrey; took *Nisibis* and *Batnæ*, and was honour'd by the Senate with the Name of *Parthicus*, added to his other Titles. After which, he winter'd at *Antioch*, where he, by an extraordinary Providence, and with much difficulty, escap'd perishing in that great Earthquake which had almost ruin'd that Noble City. After this, he return'd into the East, pass'd the *Euphrates*, subdued all *Adiabene*, *Arbela*, and *Gaugamela*, and came to *Babylon*; the *Parthians* being unable to oppose him, having been much weaken'd by their Civil Dissentions. Then he pass'd the *Tigris*, and went to *Ctesiphon*, and thence pursued his Conquests to the Ocean, where he declared, That if he had been as young as *Alexander*, he would have follow'd the Example of that Illustrious Prince, and have sail'd into *India*. But while he was thus amusing himself with his vain Ambitious Thoughts, the Provinces which he had subdued revolted, and seiz'd and murder'd the Roman Garrisons.

Where-

Whereupon, *Trajan* commanded *Lusius* and *Maximus* to chastise the Rebels, and to reduce the Cities to Terms of Duty and Obedience. In this Expedition *Maximus* was slain in Battle; but *Lusius* recover'd *Nisibis*, took *Edessa*, as he did also *Seleucia*, and other Places, by his Lieutenant-Generals: Whereupon, to prevent their future Revolt, *Trajan* gave the *Parthians* a King, and settled the Estate of the *East* (as * *Vopiscus* calls that Country, because, in respect of *Rome*, the Sun seem'd to rise in *Parthia*;) and this the Coins confirm, which mention the reducing of *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia* under the Power and Jurisdiction of the *Romans* in this Emperor's Reign.

At this time, 'tis probable, *Palmyra* was much ruin'd; for otherwise it would not have wanted the favourable Assistance of *Trajan's* Successor, who may be justly reckon'd their Second Founder. *Hadrian* was a magnificent Prince, and a great Builder (and for that reason call'd the *Wall-Flower*, a great number of eminent Edifices owing their Being and Beauty to his Liberality:) He it was who built the

Fora

Fora at *Nicodemia* and *Nice*, the Four ^{Chron. A-} High-ways, and that part of the Wall ^{lex. p. 598.} that looks toward *Bithynia*: At *Cyzicum* he built the Temple, and floor'd it with Marble: And in many other Places he either erected New, or repair'd the Old Buildings, both Sacred and Civil. And in almost every City of his vast Empire, he left some Marks of his Magnificence. * *Dio Cassius* af- * *Hadrian*. firming, that he generously assisted all the Towns that were subject to his Empire, or confederate with it, of which he visited more than any of his Predecessors, a great part of his Reign being employ'd in more than one Progress through those spacious Territories: some Cities he adorn'd with Aqueducts, others with safe Ports; upon some he bestow'd a Donative of Corn, or Publick Buildings; upon others, Money or Privileges. † At *Antioch* he repair'd † *Jo. Malel.* what had been destroy'd by that ter- ^{par. I. pag.} rible and furious Earthquake that in ^{363, 364.} *Trajan's* time had almost buried that noble City in its own Ruines; as he did the Temple at *Cyzicum*, which in his own Reign had been destroyed by another Earthquake, and made it one of

* In Aureliani

of the World's Wonders for Architecture and Beauty, bestowing great Privileges upon the poor undone Inhabitants, which was the noblest Charity: He also re-erected the *Colossus* at *Rhodes*, which had been many years before thrown down by an Earthquake. Above all, he was a great Benefactor to the City of *Athens*, toward which he always express'd a peculiar Regard; as in Requital, they call'd him, while alive, *Adrianus Olympius* in their Coins and Inscriptions; as he was in several other Cities; after his death, Deify'd, especially in *Syria*; for to speak the Truth, and to be doing Good, were, in the esteem even of the Heathen World, most God-like Qualities.

C H A P.

C H A P. IX.

BUT the Liberality of this Munificent Emperor was not confined to *Greece*, or the adjacent Parts of *Asia*; the remoter Cities of *Syria*, who had suffer'd so deeply during the War which *Trajan* made in the East, were not excluded from their share in his Bounty: For he had been a *Lieutenant-General in that Expedition, and had seen the dismal Effects of War, and Military Rage and Rapine; and upon the Death of *Trajan*, had made a Peace with the Parthians (envious of the Glory of his Predecessor, says *Sextus Rufus*, very maliciously,) having remov'd the King, whom *Trajan* had set over them, and withdrawn the Roman Armies out of all the Countries beyond the *Euphrates*; and because he was not ambitious to have his Name inscribed on all his Publick Buildings, as it was customary, he gave it to the Cities which he new built or beautified, among whom we must reckon *Palmyra*, † which, after he had repair'd its Ruines, he call'd *Hadrianople*;

* *Spart. Hadr.*† *Steph. de Urb.*

drianople; and (with the leave of Father *Harduin*, perhaps the Coin in the King of *France's* Treasury, and in *Monsieur Patin*, p. 203. with this Inscription, ΑΔΡΙΑΝ - - - ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙC) may be ascribed not to *Hadrianople* in *Thrace*, nor that other City in *Cyrenaica* of the same Name, but to *Palmyra*, which was a Mother-City, as appears by the * In-
 * Pag. 99. scriptions, and by *Ptolemy*, who not only reckons it among the Metropoles of *Cœlesyria*, but makes it the Capital of the Province of *Palmyrene*, which had its Denomination from it. And it is not unfitly represented by a *Woman* sitting on a *Hill*: For *Tadmor* is enclosed on three sides with long ridges of Mountains, the Castle being built on one of them, which commands the Entrance into the City: And to this City I would ascribe the Coin of *Caracalla*, in *Monsieur Patin*, p. 302. with the Figure of an *Archer* almost Naked on the reverse, his Thin Habit implying the Heats; and his Arms, the Militia of his Country; the *Sagittarii* of *Palmyrene* being Famous in History.

This

This City, I doubt not, but *Adrian* visited, when, in the Sixth Year of his Empire, he made his Progress into the East, and receiv'd the Homage of all the Kings and Toparchs, whose Territories lay in those Parts. And this his Expedition, I understand to be meant in the *Inscriptions*. In which Expedition, *Pag. 105.*
Malech Agrippa, the Son of *Jaraius*, was the second time the Secretary of the City; and when that Prince happen'd to draw near his end, and the *Palmyrenians* were in fear of losing their Patron, their Neighbours of the City *Tieve*, three Days Journey from *Tadmor* towards the *Euphrates* (probably the *Oriza* of *Ptolemy*, as the Learned Mr. *Halley* conjectures) and a City of *Palmyrene*, as *Ptolemy* reckons it, made their Vows for his Recovery, (as appears by the *Inscription*:) For in the *Pag. 109.*
 Last Year, the Nineteenth of his Reign, (not the Seventh, as the *Æra* of *Seleucidæ* is mistaken in the First Account,)
 " *Agathangelus* of *Abila*, the Decapo- *Vid. Ap-*
 " litan, built an Arch, or *Cupola*, in *pend.*
 " the Temple of *Jupiter*, and erected
 " a Bed of State (or *Pulvinar*, usually
 " dedicated to the Heathen Deities) to
 D 2 " *Jupiter*

Spart.
Hadr.

"*Jupiter the Thunderer*, for the Health
" of the Emperor *Adrian* his Lord";
who languish'd a long time before he
died, and suffer'd such Agonies of Pain,
that he would fain have perswaded his
Servant, who attended him, to have
run him through; and when that Per-
suasive would not prevail, would either
have stabb'd or poyson'd himself. So
difficult was it for this Great Emperor
to breathe his last.

But when *Aurelius Antoninus* had
prevail'd with the Senate to have him
Deify'd, and appointed him the Ho-
nours properly given to the Gods, with
a College of Priests, and Attendants to
do the Service of the Temples erected
to him at *Puteoli*, and elsewhere, (which
Societies continued to the Reign of
† *Septimius Severus* at *Rome*; but how
long in the Cities of the East, I know
not,) and had instituted Publick Games
in his Name, (from which Gratitude
to his Patron, the Historian says, *Au-
relius* had the Name of *Pius* given him.)

The Cities of the East, in Imitation
of *Italy*, had their *Sodales Hadrianales*
also (and Temples, questionless, erected
to his Memory) of which *Samosata* is

an

an undeniable Instance, where *L. Fabius* Grut. ubi
M. P. Gal. Cilo, Præfect of the City, sup.
was a Fellow of the College of Priests
deputed to the Service of the Deify'd
Emperor *Adrian*; particularly *Palmyra*,
who gratefully commemorated her Se-
cond Founder. allowed of his Consecra-
tion, built him a Temple, and devoted
some of her Inhabitants to the Service
thereof, as appears by the *Inscription* in
Gruter; and by another among those Vid. Ap-
lately publish'd, where he is called tend.
Adrian the God; and I am apt to be-
lieve, that the *little Temple* mention'd
in the *Journal*, was erected to his Me- Pag. 104,
mory, as well as to *Jupiter*. 105.

Such *Societies* were erected in most Cities of the Empire,
to one or other of their deceas'd, but deify'd Princes, call'd *Col-
legia Sacerdotalia* by *Lampridius*, in the *Life of Commodus*, p. 50.
and they had, according to their Rank and Dignity, their several
Vexilla, or Banners, to distinguish them, call'd *Vexilla Collegio-
rum*, or *Signa Templorum*, by *Trebellius Pollio*, in the *Life of*
Gallienus, p. 178. For as the Heathen Mock-Deities had their
ἱερόδωρα, so their Emperors, when advanced to that Honour,
had their *Ζαθαγοράται*, with all the Pomp and Ceremony that ac-
companied the Service of their Gods. (Vid. *Gruter*.)

† *Gruter*.
CCCCVII.
1, 2. C12-
IX. 9.

C H A P. X.

THE City having been repair'd, we may justly suppose, that by the Advantages of its Situation and Trade, and the continuance of a long Peace with the *Parthians*, not often interrupted, (except in the War which *Septimius Severus* made against them, when he took both *Ctesiphon* and *Babylon*, and reduced all *Arabia*, having marcht through that *Arabia* where the *Scenitæ* pitcht their Tents, in which Country *Tadmur* lay,) it arriv'd to its ancient Glory, when the Emperor *Antoninus Caracalla* honour'd it with the Privileges of a * Roman Colony *Juris Italici* (for there was a difference between Colonies, all were not *Juris Italici*, as *Palmyra* was,) *Colonia Palmyra* it is stiled in the † Coins of that Emperor, a Metropolis and a Colony, in the *Inscriptions*; probably in Honour of his Mother, whom he afterward made his Wife, *Julia Domna*, who was of this Country; but whether of *Emisa* (as several Authors affirm) or *Palmyra*,
or

*Zosim. l. 1.
p. 4.*

* *Ulpian.
l. 1. de
Censib.*

† *Goltz.
Thes. pag.
151.*

or some third City, I am not certain: A Native of *Syria* we know she was, for so says * *Spartianus*; and *Oppian* * *Spartian.* her Contemporary, calls her, the *Septim.* (a) *Affyrian Venus*, and a Moon that ^{p. 65.} was never Eclipt, or in her Wain. The same Poet, in the same place, mentioning the Destruction of the *Parthians*, and the Taking of *Ctesiphon* (as the Coins do mention the † *Victoria Par-* † *Mezob.* *thica* of that Prince) as do also the ^{p. 295.} Historians; in which Expedition, I doubt not but the *Palmyrenians*, in Gratitude, Declared for his Interest.

This Honour and Privilege of a Roman Colony, *Palmyra* kept, in the Reign of *Alexander Severus* (for under him, the great Lawyer *Ulpian* flourish'd) and assisted him with their Forces in his Expedition into the East, in the Fifth Year of his Reign, (of which Undertaking, || *Lampridius* gives || *lit. At.* so august a Character; though *Herodian* ^{Sever. pag. 131, 133,} upon this, as upon all other occasions, ^{134.}

(a) Ἀσσύρια Κυδάρεια, καὶ ἡ λεγόμενα σελήνη. *Oppian. l. 1. p. 4.*

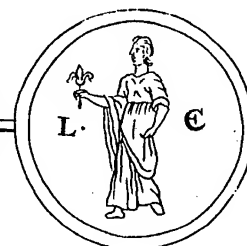
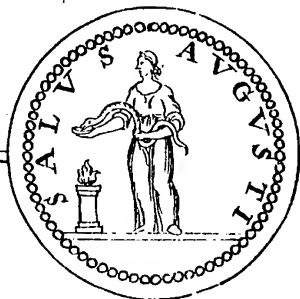
Ἐφεξαίμην Πάρεδοντε δύας, καὶ Κρημαίνοντα. --- & p. 5.

lessens, and would obscure the Achievements of that excellent Prince. In this Expedition, * *Aurelius Zenobius* being, as I conjecture, the Commander of the Forces of the Republick of *Palmyra*, attended, and was an unwearied Assistant to *Rutilius Crispinus*, the Roman General, and discharg'd the Offices of a Man of Conduct and Courage against the *Persians*, and deserv'd the most ample Testimonials of his Bravery and Prudence.

* *Journal*,
p. 97.

Vid. *Append.*

But *Palmyra* never arrived to such an illustrious pitch of Glory, as it did under *Odenathus* and his Sons, who establish'd it the Seat of the Eastern Empire, and beautified and strengthned it accordingly ; and for a few Years it afforded as remarkable Transactions of War and State, as any other part of the World can boast of, in so short a space of Time : And therefore I shall give my self the liberty to treat more largely of these Affairs, and to deduce the Series of the History of the Imperial Family of *Palmyra*, as far as the Antients afford us light, and shall leave the judicious Reader to his choice, what Memoirs he will give most credit to,
having



having taken care in every Paragraph to produce my Vouchers ; while I bemoan heartily the loss of *Uranus* his (*Ἀεγβινγ*) *Arabick History*, in the Second of which Books he treated of *Palmyra* ; as also of *Domnius* of *Anrioch*, whom *Malela* commonly follows ; and of *Philostratus* of *Athens*, the Historiographer, who liv'd under *Aurelian*, and wrote the Transactions of his own Time : but particularly I regret the want of that *Oration* which *Longinus* made in Praise of *Odenathus*, and called by his Name, of which *Libanius* makes mention in his *Epistles*, which would questionless have given a more ample History of that Illustrious Prince, than all the jejune Narratives of the Roman Historians. But since we must follow the Light that is given us, I shall first begin with *Odenathus*, then treat of *Zenobia*, and their Children.

C H A P.

C H A P. XI.

* Lib. 7.
cap. 22.

† Ubi Infr.
|| Lib. 4.
p. 134.

* Breviar.

+ Pag. 88.
Ibid. P. 99.

|| L. I. p. 36.

* Pag. 382.

O DENATHUS (says * *Orosius*) was a Man of mean Birth and Original, (*Odenathus Quidam*, as he styles him :) A Man of *Palmyra* (says † *Zonaras* :) Of no Reputation, and unknown (says || *Agathias*,) till he made his Name Famous by his Conquests over the *Persians*, and other eminent Atchievements, which give him an extraordinary Character in the ancient Historians. * *Sextus Rufus* says, that he was a *Decurio* of *Palmyra*; which being a word of large signification, may in that Author, I think, be render'd a Procurator, or Senator : And so he is stiled in the † *Inscriptions*, if he be the same Person, *Septimius Odenathus, the Most Illustrious Senator, the Son of Airanes* Nephew of *Vaballathus* ; of which Order also his Son *Septimius Airanes* was. And || *Zosimus* says expressly, that his Ancestors were Men of Honour and Condition, having been in past Ages enobled by the neighbouring
great

great Soldier, and probably he was the General of the Forces of the Commonwealth of *Palmyra* : A Prince (says * *Pollio*) accomplisht in the Art * *Pag. 192.* Military, and from his Youth a great Hunter, (Hunting being in those days, according to the most ancient Practice, the Recreation and Exercise of the most Eminent Persons, a Sport that bred them to great Hardiness and Resolution, and much Experience in War,) he bestowed his leisure hours in destroying Lyons, Leopards, Bears, and other Beasts of Prey, inuring himself to bear the Fatigues of Labour, to endure the Hardships of Heat, and Showers, and the other Toils incident to a Woodman's Life ; and by these Methods brought himself to a Habit of enduring the scorching Beams of the Sun, and the annoyance of the Dust, in his Wars with the *Persians*.

The later Greeks frequently stile him the *King of the Saracens*, of the *Barbarous Saracens*, as if he had been a *Phylarchus* of some part of *Arabia* : † *Ammianus* averring, that those who † *Lib. 23.*
were anciently called *Arabes Scenitæ*, *cap. ult.*
were afterwards called *Saracens*, (but
herein

herein he differs from both *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* :) A Name (says *Scaliger*) never used by any Author before *Ptolemy* ; whereas *Pliny*, who liv'd at least fifty Years before that excellent Astronomer, expressly mentions them. Now the *Saracens*, over whom *Odenathus* and *Zenobia* reign'd, had been of old, says *Procopius* Confederate with the *Romans*.

And as the Quality of this Mighty Prince hath been mistaken, so have his Actions been wrongfully represented : *Orosius* affirming, that he form'd an Army of the Boors of *Syria*, and with those Rusticks overcame the *Persians* ; and so says *Sextus Rufus*. But they confound two Stories, if we may credit * *Malela* ; for he affirms, that when *Sapores* had over-run all *Syria*, and had taken, plunder'd and burnt *Antioch* (which happen'd in the 314th. Year of the *Æra Antiochena*, the 12th. of the Reigns of *Valerian* and *Gallienus*.) he afterward ravaged all the East to *Emesa*, a City of *Phœnicia Libanesis*, carrying with him, whither soever he went, Fire and Sword, and all the Instruments of Cruelty : but when he came

* *Plin.* l. 1.
p. 391, &c.

came to *Emesa*, *Sampsigeramus* the Priest of *Venus*, having collected a hasty Army of the Country-men of that Province, placed himself in the Head of them in his Priestly Habit ; which created him Respect from all who saw him, particularly from the King of *Persia*, to whom he said he was sent an Empassador : Upon which, while the King was discoursing him, one of the Boors threw a Stone from his Sling, and hitting *Sapores* in the Forehead, slew him ; whereupon the Army believing that the *Romans* were falling on their Camp, left all their Booty, and fled, *Sampsigeramus* pursuing them ; and that while the scattered *Persians* were making their escape, *Enathus* a Confederate of the *Romans*, the King of the Barbarous *Saracens*, and Lord of that part of *Arabia*, met them upon the Borders, and destroy'd the remainders of that scatter'd Army, as *Domininus* the Chronologer of *Antioch* affirms, to whom *Malela* gives credit ; while *Philosttratus* the Historian (as the same *Malela* confesses) who liv'd a Contemporary with those Princes, gives a different Account ; That after *Sapores* had

had made such great Devastations in *Syria*, had ravag'd *Cilicia* and burnt all her eminent Cities, (*Dominus* says, the King went not in Person, but sent *Spates* his General with an Army to commit those Outrages,) as he was returning through *Cappadocia* into *Persia*, *Enathus* the King of the *Saracens* came forth to meet him, and pay the Respects of a Confederate, and at length slew him. But to set the History in its true Light, it will be requisite to take a short View of the State of the Empire at that time.

C H A P.

C H A P. XII.

THE Roman Interest in the East having been sinking for some years after the Death of *Gordianus*, under his Successor *Philip*, who was also his Murtherer, as also under *Decius*, *Gallus*, and *Æmilianus*; *Valerian*, and his Son *Gallienus*, were chosen to wear the Purple; the *Persians* in the mean time ravaging the East, as the *Scythians* over-ran and pillag'd the rest of the Empire.

This Devastation continued for some years, till at last *Valerian* marcht against the *Scythians*, who had taken *Chalcedon*, burnt the City of *Nice*, and pillag'd and set fire to the famous Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*; and after that, he attempted to drive the *Persians* out of their New Conquests, Anno *Christi*, 260, but very unfortunately; for having engag'd his Troops in those vast Deserts, where the Rays of the Sun were very fervent, and few places afforded Water sufficient for an Army, and Forage and Provisions must be brought from

Eclogæ Legat. Petrii Patricii,
p. 29.

Zosim. l. i.
p. 32.

from a great distance, *Valerian* sent Embassadors to *Sapores*, loaden with Gold, to buy a Peace: But the cruel and crafty Monarch knowing the necessitous Condition of the Roman Army, and being incens'd, that *Valerian*, in his *Letters*, had not treated him with all the Pompous Titles which the *Persians* Kings used to assume to themselves, detain'd the Embassadors for a while in Prison, till he had gotten all his Forces in a readiness to March, and then dismiss them, with this Answer, That if *Valerian* would give him a Meeting, they would agree upon Articles among themselves, that should be for the Common Good of both Empires. To this Meeting, *Valerian*, prest by the Necessity of his Affairs, very imprudently assented: but as he was pursuing his Journey, accompanied only with a few Attendants, he was seiz'd on by the *Persian* Soldiers, and made a Prisoner; *Sapores* using him with all rigour and contempt, setting his Foot on his Neck every time he mounted his Horse, till after some years he flea'd him, and so put an end to his miserable Life.

In

In this Expedition, *Odenathus*, (who, during the Reigns of *Decius*, *Trebonianus*, *Gallus*, and *Volusianus*, while the *Persians* had seiz'd and pillag'd *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and the adjacent Provinces, had probably join'd himself to to the Conquering Party, and acknowledged the Jurisdiction of the *Persians*, not being able, alone, and unassisted, to oppose so great a Power,) seeing the *Roman* Emperor engaged in Person in the Head of a puissant Army for the recovery of the East, and knowing that his Ancestors had received many signal Favours from the Emperors, Predecessors to *Valerian*, was easily persuaded to declare for the *Roman* Interest. But when *Valerian* was taken Captive, *Odenathus* bethought himself, and endeavour'd to make his Peace, having found the *Persian* Monarch so much Superior to the *Roman*. Whereupon, being convinced of the necessity he was under to smoothe the Mind of that haughty Prince, he form'd an Embassy, loaded several Camels with most noble Presents, especially of such things which *Persia* did not produce, and sent them to *Sapores* with the most submissive

E five

five Letters, affirming, That in the whole War he had not been an Enemy to that Great King. But the proud *Persian* commanded his Servants to throw the Presents into the River, and tearing the Letters, he trampled them under his Feet, expressing himself in an angry Tone to this purpose, *Who is this insolent Man, and from whence, that he dares write his Letters to his Liege Lord and Sovereign? If he intends to alleviate his Punishment, let him come hither with his Hands tied behind his Back, fall at my Feet, and beg my Pardon; but if he refuses, let him know, that I will destroy him and his Family, and ruine his Country.*

What effect this sharp Answer had upon the Prince of *Palmyra*, we want Information; but I doubt not, he dissembled his Resentment, made the best Terms he could for himself, and waited an Opportunity to revenge the Injury; which, in a few years offer'd it self, when *Gallienus* gave him his Commission to insult the *Persians*.

To support the Opinion, That *Odenathus* was was an Ally, if not a Subject of the *Persians*, before *Valerian* attempted

attempted the recovery of the East out of their hands, *Trebellius Pollio* affirms, That when *Cyriades* pretended to the Empire, he robb'd his Father of a vast Summ of Silver and Gold, and with it fled to the *Persians*; and having insinuated himself into the Affections of *Sapores*, and entred into a Confederacy with him, incited him to make War upon the *Romans*, after he had engaged *Odenathus* in the same Design; that he took *Antioch* and *Cæsarea*, and made himself, either by downright Force, or the Terror of his Arms, Lord of the East; whereupon he assum'd the Title of *Augustus*: But when *Valerian* came into the East, he was slain by his Soldiers. This Alliance he made with the King of *Persia* (says * *Tristan*) in * *Tom. 3.*
the First or Second Year of *Valerian*, pag. 25.
in the Fourth (says *Mezzobarba*,) and he reign'd at least two years, say the † *Coines*. But *Salmasius* will not allow, that *Odenathus* was concerned in this Attempt upon *Syria*; but *Odomastes* † *Goltz. Theaur. P. 72.*
(perhaps *Oromastes*) whom he supposes a General, or a Tributary Prince to the *Persian*; though it is not altogether improbable, but the Prince of *Palmyra*
E 2 might

might be engaged in this Design, not only, because in League with the *Persian*, but also, because being an Ambitious, Politick and Warlike Prince, he was willing to enlarge his Limits, and to take the Advantage of the distracted Estate of the *Roman* Empire at that time, to make Additions to his own Territories. But when *Valerian* was marching into the East, and *Cyriades* was slain, then he bethought himself, and in good time changed his Party, and declared for the *Romans*: Which enraged *Sapores*, and gave occasion to him to upbraid *Odenathus*, when *Valerian* was made Prisoner, with his Apostasie from his Duty.

C H A P.

C H A P. XIII.

THE Wings of the *Roman Eagle* having been thus deplumed, and the Glory of the Empire eclips'd, while *Valerian* wore the Chains, and daily suffer'd the Insolences of the King of *Persia*, it might have been with Justice expected that *Gallienus* should have exerted his utmost Powers to release his Father, and set his Country and Subjects free. But instead of applying himself to such becoming Undertakings, which would have given new Life to his People, and new Lawrels to himself, (who had in the beginning of his Reign behaved himself like a Man of Courage and Conduct,) he gave himself up to all manner of Voluptuousness, and permitted the Commonwealth to be shipwrackt, inasmuch as he not only neglected to make an attempt for his Father's Release, (while, by the *Barbarians*, the neighbouring Princes, who were Confederate with the *Persians*, *Sapores* was sollicitated with all earnestness to set him at liberty, and to make a

* *Aurel. Victor. Cæss.*
p. 155.

Peace, of which the Letters still extant in *Trebellius Pollio* are an undeniable Demonstration ; while also the *Bactrians*, *Iberians*, *Albanians*, and *Tauroscythæ*, wrote to the Roman Generals, promising their Assistance to redeem him out of an ignominious Slavery,) but suffer'd the *Goths*, A.D. 261, say the *Fasti Idatiani* ; but *Cassiodore* says, Anno 263. to over-run all *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Achaia*, with the neighbouring Provinces, one Party of them ravaging *Illyricum*, and pillaging all its Cities, another invading *Italy*, and marching to the very Gates of *Rome*, while the *Parthians* made their Inroads into *Mesopotamia*, and the *Syrian* Banditti harraht the *East*, * inso much as the Considerate part of Mankind thought the World near its End, (and the sad Effects of those Eruptions were visible, in the Ruines of many a Noble City and Country, almost Two hundred Years after, both in the *East* and *West*, says † *Orosius*,) while every bold Pretender durst set up his Title to the Empire in the *West*, who could defend his Usurpation with his Sword ; his Father *Valerian* languishing all the while under a

severe

Zosim. l. 1. p. 34.

* *Aug. Ep. 80.*

† *Lib. 7. c. 22.*

severe Captivity, till his Age and his Afflictions had cover'd him with Grey Hairs.

Treb. Pol. p. 175.

When the Affairs of the Empire were in this perplext estate, and their Interest at the lowest ebb, *Gallienus* having deserted the Care of the Republick, sauntred away his Time idly, or spent it ridiculously in the Company of Rope-dancers and Stage-players, and laugh'd at the loss of many a fertile and rich Province ; while *Posthumus* maintained its Grandeur in the *West*, and preserv'd *Gallia* ; and *Odenathus* in the *East* attackt and subdu'd the *Persians*. For when that senseless Emperor saw himself so miserably oppress'd on all hands, awaken'd by the Out-cries of his People, he for a little while rous'd himself out of his Lethargy, and look'd about him ; and seeing all at stake, requested *Odenathus*, the Governor-General, or Prætor, of *Palmyrene*, and Considerate of the *Romans*, (the Prince of that Country, says *Trebellius Pollio*,) to drive the *Persians* out of the Roman Territories : *Odenathus* consider'd, that if he did not interpose, it would be impossible but that *Sapores* would in a

E 4 small

Entrop. l. 9. s. 10. Treb. Pol. p. 178, 179.

Zosim. l. 1. pag. 35. Zon. iv. T. 2. p. 235, 237.

small time, under so negligent a Prince as *Gallienus*, have made himself Master of the World, and that his own Native Country must necessarily have been made an Appendage of that Empire; and for this reason, as well as to revenge the Affront offer'd him in the Slight put on his Embassadors, he join'd his Forces to the remains of the *Roman* Army, who still continued to support the Reputation of that August Empire in the *East*: And in this difficult Undertaking he behaved himself with so much Address, and such an extraordinary Courage, that he humbled the Pride of the Greatest of the Eastern Monarchs in the midst of all his Glory and Triumphs: For he first fell upon the *Persian* General, and having routed him, recover'd *Nisibis* and *Mesopotamia* out of the Hands of the Invaders; then attack't the King of *Persia* with a Success fuitable to his Bravery; for as *Sapores* was returning home, loaden with the Spoils of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, *Odenathus* came out to meet him, as one of his Allyes; but under that pretext he deluded him, having way-lay'd him as he past through *Euphratesia*

Philosfr.
ap. Malel.
par. 1. p.
393. &
Zonar.
Tom. 2.
p. 237.
Agath. l. 4.
p. 134.

(call'd

(call'd of old *Commagene*, says *Procopius*; *Augusto-Euphratesia*, by *Theodorit* a Bishop of that Country,) so streightned him, that being to march through a Valley whose Ways were too steep and rugged for his Carriages, he slew all his Prisoners, and threw them into the Hollows, and by that means past over his heavy Baggage. After this, he fought and routed the Army of the *Persians*, and made so great a slaughter of their Troops, that * *Peter* the Historian, a Man of the Senatorian Dignity, and Embassador to *Chosroes* King of *Persia*, affirms, That when *Sapores* had past the *Euphrates* with the remains of his shatter'd Army, his Soldiers thinking themselves secure, by their station on the other side of the River, embraced one another with unexpressible Transports: After which, *Sapores* sent to the Garrison at *Edessa*, promising them to give them all the Money which he had plunder'd in *Syria*, if they would not molest him in his March, but suffer him quietly to hasten Home through their Territory; subjoyning, that he did not offer them this great Summ, as if he were afraid of them

* *Delegationib.* p. 45.

them, but that he might make the more speed into *Persia*, to celebrate a great Festival that he was near, not being willing to be hinder'd in his Design. To this the Garrison consented, receiv'd the Money, and gave him leave to pass by the City unmolested.

By this Victory, *Odenathus* not only preserv'd the *Roman* Territories in the *East*, and defended the Limits, but recover'd several Cities which the *Persians* had usurpt, and made his Inroads as far as *Ctesiphon*, the Royal Seat of those Eastern Princes, obliging them to quit their other Conquests, to defend their Wives and Children. In this Expedition also he made himself Master of the Treasures of that Great Monarch; and of what those Kings held more valuable and more precious than all their Wealth, his Concubines; and at the same time he took many of the Nobility Prisoners. This was so Meritorious an Action, that the * *Roman* Historian confesses, That without this Interposition, the Interest of the Empire had been entirely sunk in the *East*. And withal, he informs us, That *Odenathus* assumed the Name of *King*, before

* *Trib. Pol.*
p. 192.

fore he rais'd his Army, (though the Greek Writers allow him to have only been declar'd General of the *East*, an Honorary Trust conferr'd on none but Persons of the best Condition and Qualifications,) that his Wife *Zenobia*, his eldest Son *Herod*, and his two younger Sons *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, accompany'd him, when (*Anno Christi*, 246.) he fought and routed that Potent Monarch, and recover'd the Territories that he had usurped on this side the River.

To reward these brave Services, *Gal-* *Treb. Pol.*
lien declar'd him *Augustus*, and his *p. 180.*
Copart'ner in the Empire, (so that the Historians with great injustice reckon *Odenathus* and his Son *Herodian* among the Tyrants, as if they had been Usurpers, who ought to have been inserted into the Catalogue of the Lawful Emperors,) and commanded Money to be stamp't in his Name, the reverse of which represented the Captive *Persians* following his Triumphant Chariot: The Senate, the City, and all the People of *Rome*, being wonderfully pleas'd with the Performance.

This

This Declaration of *Gallienus* intitled *Odenathus* to the Possession of the *East*, while his illustrious Atchievements prov'd him worthy of the Purple : And accordingly, upon his return from *Ctesiphon*, he assum'd the Habit and Style, and Declar'd his Son *Herodes* his Co-part'ner in the Empire, and *Princeps Juventutis* ; as, besides the Historians, the Coins do fully declare.

C H A P. XIV.

O *Denathus* having thus atton'd for the Negligence of *Gallienus*, supported the sinking Fortune of that August Empire, and preserv'd his own Native Country in its own Quiet and Freedom, and behav'd himself with so dextrous an Address, and such an extraordinary Courage, that he humbled the Pride of the Greatest of the Eastern Monarchs, and acquir'd a great Reputation to his Arms ; and having spent some time in settling his new Con-

quests,

quests, (though he fail'd of his main Enterprize of releasing *Valerian*, who was, upon this Irruption of the *Palmyrenians*, slain by *Sapores*,) at the Request of *Gallienus*, he undertook to suppress *Macrianus*, who had, in Opposition to *Gallienus*, Declar'd himself Emperor in *Phœnicia*, (though *Eusebius* avers, that himself did not assume the Purple, but that he made his Sons Emperors,) and was acknowledg'd by the Roman Army under his Command. But *Macrianus* having baffled the *Scythians*, and driven them out of *Achaia*, was retir'd with his Eldest Son, of his own Name, into *Illyricum*, where, in a pitch't Battel, they were both slain by *Aureolus*, another of the Pretenders to the Empire : But *Macrianus* had left *Quietus* the Younger of his Sons in the East, with the Title of *Augustus*, under the Conduct of *Balista* an Experienced General. *Balista* was the *Præfectus Prætorio* to the Emperor *Valerian*, a Captain of rare Capacity, and singular Courage, of great Wisdom and Foresight, and as great Resolution and Bravery ; he was General of the Horse under *Macrianus* in the East. And when *Macrianus* left

Treb. Pol.

p. 192.

Zonar. T.2.

p. 237.

Zonar. Syn-

cel. p.382.

Treb. Pol.

p. 176.

that Country, he, with *Quietus* the Second Son of *Macrianus*, managed the War with so much Courage and good Fortune, that while he attack't *Sápores* on one hand, and *Odenathus* on the other, they drove him to take shelter in the Desarts of *Persia*; upon which Victory they assumed the Title of Emperors, which engaged *Gallienus* against them: Therefore *Odenathus* march't and fought them at *Emesa*, where *Balista* fell by the Sword of *Odenathus*, *Quietus* by the Hands of the Citizens of *Emesa*, says *Zonaras*; while *Trebellius*

Pag. 116. *Pollio* in one place affirms, That after the Army was routed, the Soldiers seiz'd both *Quietus* and *Balista*, and deliver'd them to *Odenathus*, who slew them: but in another place he says, That the common report was (few Writers accounting for *Balista's* Actions, after he was Declar'd Emperor, while they treat more largely of his Performances, while he was *Præfektus Prætorio* of the *East*) that he was slain by a Private Sentinel of *Odenathus's* Army, as he was sleeping in his Tent: but in

Pag. 176. a third place he affirms, That the Army of *Quietus*, instigated by *Balista*,

lista, slew the young Prince, and having thrown his Body over the Walls of *Emesa*, immediately surrender'd: Others (as he says) affirming, That *Odenathus* having slain *Quietus*, gave *Balista* his Life; but that *Balista*, not daring to trust either *Gallienus*, *Aureolus*, or *Odenathus*, assum'd the Imperial Purple. Nor does the Report want Authors, that he was slain at *Daphne*, near *Antioch*, at a Farm which he had purchased, where he liv'd a private life: while very many others averr, That having Declar'd himself Emperor, he was murder'd by those whom *Aureolus* sent to apprehend *Quietus*, whom he demanded as part of his Plunder, having slain his Father, and Elder Brother. The Accounts even of those Times being so various, it cannot be expected that the Writers of the present Age should better adjust the History; while we are obliged to the Information of the Coins, that *Balista* reign'd Three

Goltz. Thes. P. 72. Years at least, and that his Name was *Servius Anicius* (or *Sergius Anicetus*) *Balista*. Whatever his Fate was, as to his Titles, he was an Illustrious Person, happy in his Undertakings, and had a singular

singular Faculty in providing his Army with Provisions and Necessaries ; and so well vers'd in Politicks, that *Valerian* acknowledged, that he had learn'd the Rules of Government from *Balista*, and that he was one of the most Provident and most Experienced Generals of the Age. But whether he was that *Callistus* whom *Zonaras* affirms to have been chosen by the *Roman* Troops their General, after the Captivity of *Valerian*, and who, when he saw the *Persians* carelessly wandring up and down, as if they had no more Enemies to conquer, fell upon them, and routed them, I will not determine, though it be highly probable, the Names. being very like (*Callistus*, and *Balistas*,) and the exploits seem to be the same. But in this one Circumstance *Zonaras* is mistaken, who attributes the Taking the Baggage and Concubines of *Sapores* to *Callistus*, which was the Atchievement of *Odenathus*.

When *Odenathus* had thus compleated the Conquest of the *East*, and wrested it out of the Hands both of the *Roman* Rebels, and the *Persian* Usurpers, * he

* *Treb. Pol.*
p. 176, 179.

ceedings

ceedings to *Gallienus*, and sent him the *Persian* Nobility, whom he had taken Prisoners : And that besotted Prince had the confidence to triumph at *Rome*, for the Victories which *Odenathus* got in *Euphratesia*.

Immediately upon this, *Odenathus* ^{*Sinzel ubi*} being a Captain of indefatigable Cou- ^{*sup.*} rage, and great Expedition, engaged himself in the Expulsion of the *Goths*, who made their Irruptions into *Phrygia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, and threatned the *East*. But having march'd through *Cappadocia* to *Heraclea* of *Pontus*, the *Scythians*, terrify'd with the Name of the Illustrious General, retired ; but as he was preparing to pursue them, he was most unfortunately and most barbarously murder'd. *The Anger of God* ^{*Treb. Pol.*} ^{*p. 184.*} against the *Roman* Commonwealth being most visibly seen ; because, after *Valerian* was slain, he would not reserve *Odenathus* for its Preservation.

F

CHAP.

C H A P. XV.

THE Manner of *Odenathus* his Death is differently related, tho' the Historians agree in the main, * *Ubi supr.* * *Malela*, (a) after his fabulous wont, affirms, That he was slain by *Gallienus*. † *L. 1. p. 36.* † *Zosimus*, That while he was at *Emisa*, celebrating either his own, or some Friend's Birth-Day, he was by Treachery murdered. But the generality of Writers assert, That *Odenathus*, with his Son *Herodes*, were slain as they were about to pursue the *Scythians*, who fled before them: That the Parricide who made the Assassination, was his Kinsman, his Brother's Son, *Mæonius*; whom *Syncellus* calls *Odenathus* (probably according to the Mode of that Time and Country, *Mæonius Odenathus*;) and that he, for a few days after, assum'd the Title of *Emperor*,

(a) The Paragraph in *Malela* is so confus'd, and is such a Jumble of the Actions of *Gallienus*, *Odenathus* and *Aurelian*, that I cannot but profess, I should rather attribute the Mistakes to the Transcriber or Interpolator, than to the Author, though so great a Fabler.

(as appears by the Coins,) but that he was suddenly dispatcht by those very Soldiers who had been wheedled to cloath him with the Imperial Purple. So fell the most Unjust of Men to his Relations, the most Disloyal Traytor to his Prince, the most Ungrateful Villain to his Benefactor, and the most Profligate of Wretches.

Mæonius was induced to imbrue his *Pol. p. 192, 193.* Hands in the Blood of his King, his Relation, and his Friend; instigated (say *Cuspin. Cas. p. 74.* some) by *Zenobia*, who, to dispatch a Son-in-Law, that hinder'd her Children from succeeding to the Empire of the East, (for *Herodes*, or *Herodian*, was the Son of *Odenathus* by a former Wife,) was content at the same time to see her Husband stabb'd. But more probably he committed the execrable Murther, being instigated by the most malicious of Tempers, and an abominable mixture of Envy and Ambition; this prompted him to destroy one of the best of Emperors, upon the pretext, that his Son *Herod* was a Man of extraordinary Softness and Delicacy, (as Men who are naturally Kind and Good-natur'd, are apt to be Effeminate. Voluptuous and

Zonar. T. 2.
p. 237.

and Amorous,) and because his Father had given him all the King of *Persia's* Concubines, all his Treasures, and all the Gems taken in the War : Or rather, upon an old Grudge ; for the fierce Young Man accompanying his Uncle in his Manly Exercise of Hunting, presum'd, the first of the Company, to throw his Javelin at the Wild Beast that was rous'd ; and being reprov'd for it by his Uncle, that Honour being reserv'd for the most Eminent Person of the Hunt) in contempt of the Reprimand, persisted to gratifie his own Humour, and committed the same Crime a second and a third time : Whereupon, *Odenathus* ordered him to be dismounted, and his Horse taken from him, (which was the greatest Affront that could be offer'd to a Man of Quality in that Country.) Upon this, the hot Spark could not forbear expressing his Resentments, and threatening Revenge. Whereupon he was confin'd : but in a little time, at the Intercession of *Herodes*, *Odenathus* set him at liberty. But the Pardon was as uneasily digested as the Affront, (the injur'd Person may be inclined to remit the Offence ;

Offence ; but he who does the Wrong, never forgives ;) for he watch't his Opportunity, and imbru'd his Hands in the Blood of both his King, and his Advocate.

Thus fell that Great Prince and his Eldest Son, both Emperors, after *Odenathus* had Reigned Four Years, (and *Herodes* at least Three, as the Coins expressly prove ; it being probable, that *Odenathus* wore the Purple some time after *Gallienus* declar'd him Emperor, before he assum'd *Herodes* to be his Copartner in his Government,) leaving his Crown and Scepter by Right to his Grandson *Vaballathus*, but in the Possession of, and *de Facto* to *Zenobia*, and her Sons *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*. Vid. Append.

C H A P. XVI.

O *Denathus* was murder'd the same Year that *Gallienus* was slain, but some time before him. For, *Anno Christi* 260, *Valerian* was taken, in the Sixth Year of his Reign; after which, the *Persians* managed the Affairs of the *East* according to their own Will and Pleasure. *Valerian's* Son, and his Copart'ner in the Empire, *Gallienus*, being lost in the mazes of his Vices, and so devoted to his Pleasures, that his Name was not so much as mention'd in the Army, who seem'd to have forgotten him, as entirely as he had forgotten himself, and all Princely Qualifications; for he rejoyc'd at his Father's Captivity, which clad all *Rome* in Mourning, and cover'd every Wise Man with Tears; and diverted himself with Stage-plays, Horse-races, and the Combats of the Gladiators; in making himself Beds of Roses to wallow in, in the Summer-time; and Beds of Melons, to gratifie his Palate in the Winter; in building Castles of Apples, and

Treb. Pol.

p. 176, 182.

and other Fruits, and exercising his noble Courage in attacking them; in finding out Methods how to Preserve Grapes Sound and Untainted three Years, and Wines always in the Muste, Figs always Green, and Apples Ripe in every Month in the Year; as if he had been born a Slave to his Belly and his Pleasures. He spent all his time in Riot and Luxury, in Wine and Women; never would drink, but out of a Golden Bowl (despising Glafs, because common and cheap,) and every time chang'd his Wine: his Concubines sate at the same Table with him; and at the next Table to him, his Buffoons, Parasites and Jesters. His Cloaths were foreign, and different from the Habit of the *Roman* Princes his Predecessors; his Hair powder'd with Gold, and his Head crown'd with Rays; while his most intimate Privy-Counsellors were the *Roman* Ladies. And in this dissolute Course he lived till the Year of Christ, 264. when *Odenathus* undertook and revenged the Quarrel, and baffled and put to flight the formidable Host. In which Year, it is very probable, the *Persian* King, enraged at his loss of Honour,

Treb. Pol.
p. 184.

Honour, Spoils, and Conquer'd Territories, put *Valerian* to Death. Anno 268, *Odenathus* was murther'd, and the same year *Gallienus* was slain. For thus the * Historian states his Accompts of Time : " Whereas *Valerian* and his " Son reign'd Fifteen Years, in the " Sixth *Valerian* was taken Prisoner " by the *Persians* ; after which, *Gallienus* reign'd Nine Years, some say " Ten : For its certain, that he celebrated his *Decennalia* at *Rome* ; and " after that, overcame the *Goths*, made " a Peace with *Odenathus*, an Agreement with *Aureolus*, and overcame " *Posthumus* and *Lollianus*. — After which, he was slain near *Milan*, by the Hand of *Cerronius* (or *Cecropius*) the General of the *Dalmatian* Troops.

What the Quarrel was between *Gallienus* and *Odenathus*, and upon what Reasons, no Historian, that I know of, gives any Account : but perhaps the Coins hint it ; for in those of *Gallienus*, Anno Christi 266, a year and more before *Odenathus* was murdered, there often occurs *Pax Augg. Concordia Augg.* (with two Right Hands joined.) 'Tis true, *Mezzobarba* understands the Inscriptions

scriptions, of the Union between *Gallienus* and the junior *Valerian* ; but besides that *Valerian* was not Emperor till the next year after those Coins were stamp'd, Anno Christi 267, as *Mezzobarba* himself confesses, we never read of any Dispute between them ; for the Younger *Valerian* was a Prince of excellent Temper and Modesty ; but a Quarrel there was between *Odenathus* and *Gallienus* (as *Trebellius Pollio* says expressly.) Much less can I interpret the Coins to have relation to *Valerian* the Father, as Monsieur *Patin* does ; for long before this year, *Valerian* was a Prisoner in *Persia*, and probably murdered.

It must be confest, that there is great variety of Opinions concerning the Age of *Valerian* ; and that it is very difficult to adjust the precise time of his Death, which happen'd at so great a distance from *Rome*, and in a Country at open War with the Emperor, which precluded all Communication. But I shall endeavour to fix the Time. * Monsieur *Tristan* says * Tom. 3. expressly, That *Valerian* was born pag. 1. An. V.C. 937. Anno Christi 185 ; and that

that he was murdered *an. æt. 75, Christi 260*, the very year in which he was made a Prisoner. But the whole Assertion is precarious, and built upon the wrong Supposition, That he lived but 75 years, and was flea'd the very year in which he was taken.

Signior *Mezzobarba* affirms, that he was slain *an. æt. 77.* but fixes no year either from the Building of *Rome*, or from our Blessed Saviour's Birth. The Writers of the Imperial History of those Times say only in general, that he lived to a great Age in the state of Captivity: While the Writer of the *Chronicon*, commonly call'd the *Alexandrian*, allows him to have lived but 61 years; but expressly affirms, that he reign'd 14 years, and that he was put to death by the *Persians* when *Claudius* and *Paternus* were Consuls, *Anno Christi 263.*

Most of the Old *Fasti* averr, that *Valerian* and *Gallienus* reign'd 15 years; and so does *Trebellius Pollio*; and that *Valerian* was taken by the *Persians*, *Gallieno 7. & Sabinillo Coss. Anno Christi 266.* (as *Idatius* declares.)

Among all which Writers, there
is

is great Variety, but little Truth; while its plain to me, that *Valerian* was alive when *Odenathus* first took Arms for his Release (and so could not be put to Death the same year in which he was taken.) *Trebellius Pollio* ex- *Pag. 179.*
pressly affirming, that *Odenathus* exerted his utmost Vigour; and attended to nothing else but that *Valerian* might recover his Liberty. And the same Author as expressly avers, that *Valerian* *Pag. 184.*
was dead before *Odenathus* was murdered: *The Anger of God* (as he says) appearing visibly against the Roman Commonwealth, in that after *Valerian* was slain, he would not suffer *Odenathus* to live. I am therefore of the Opinion of the learned Monsieur *Patin*, that as *Pag. 405.*
soon as *Sapores* had experimented, to his cost, the Bravery and Conduct of the King of *Palmyra*, and understood that his Design was to restore the Captive *Valerian* to his Liberty, from an ignominious Slavery; then his Rage transported him to that barbarous and inhumane Act of Cruelty, *A. C. 264*; and if we may credit the Coin in *Goltzius*, he was Deify'd after his Death. But *The same.*
enough of this Digression; let us return *p. 70.*
to *Zenobia*. CHAP.

C H A P. XVII.

S*Eptimia Zenobia* (for so she was call'd, and for the knowledge of her first Name we are wholly obliged to the Coins) being thus left by her Husband the Empreſs of the *East*, (for as she follow'd him in all his Wars, so she accompany'd him in his Expedition against the *Goths*, when he was assassinated at *Heraclea*,) and acknowledg'd to be so by the Army (after they had dispatch't her Ephemorous Competitor *Mæonius*, a Man of the loosest Manners, profuse Luxury, and an ungovernable Temper) managed that vast Empire with a Bravery and Conduct truly Heroick, and above her Sex; and by the Assistance of the wise Ministers and Generals *Odenathus* left her, kept up the Reputation of her Government, and advanc'd it. She was Prudent and Fair, Learned and Stout; as rigorous as a Tyrant, to those who were perverse and obstinate; but humane and kind to all who were ready to live under Laws and Discipline.

pline. She surpass even her Husband, who was one of the most Illustrious Personages in the World, in Courage, Magnanimity, and every generous Quality. In a word, she was an *adroit* Accomplish't Lady, who had all the transcendent Qualities that would create her the Esteem of the World, and render her worthy the Noblest Throne upon Earth, being of High Birth, Extraordinary Accomplishments, and the Greatest Performances.

Her Original was Noble, and the best Blood of the *Egyptian* Kings flow'd in her Veins; for she deriv'd her self from the Family of the *Ptolemy's*, and from *Cleopatra*; and had a great Regard for the last Queen of *Egypt*, whom with *Dido* and *Semiramis* the celebrated, as the Heroins of their several Ages; *Zenobia* particularly proposing to her self the Imitation of all *Cleopatra's* Illustrious Qualifications, while she avoided those Vices that eclips't her Glory. Her Mother's Name we are ignorant of, but her Father was *Achilleus* (*Zozimus* calls him *Antiochus*) whom the *Palmyrenians* chose to be their Prince, when they took Arms against

Treb. Pol.
p. 196, 198,
200.

Vopisc.
p. 219.

against *Aurelian*. To him, *Zosimus* says, that *Aurelian* gave his Life and Liberty, after he had made him his Prisoner. Nor is it the most unpardonable Conjectures, to imagine that he was the Father of *Lucius Epidius Achilleus*, who twenty years after the Sack of *Palmyra*, being made Governor of *Egypt*, took upon him the Imperial Purple, and maintained his Pretensions for six years at the least, as the Coins expressly inform us; and at last, after he had been besieged eight Months in *Alexandria*, was overcome by *Dioctesian* and *Galerius*, and put to death.

Id. p. 192. Her Beauty was as Illustrious as her Birth, but Manly and August, not Soft and Effeminate; *Cornelius Capitolinus* affirming, that she was the Handsomest of all the Eastern Ladies, (though *Syria* were famous for Beauties, more than one of the *Roman* Empresses owing their Birth to that Country :) Her Face was of a Brownish colour, (and 'tis no wonder that she appear'd so at *Rome*, who in *Palmyrene* had been inur'd to march in the Head of her Army, on foot, several miles at a time, where the Rays of the Sun were so fervent and so trouble-

troublesom.) Her Eyes Black and Sparkling, her Mien Divine, her Charms Irresistable; her Teeth of such an extraordinary Whiteness, that some Men thought them Pearls: Her Voice Clear and Masculine: And all her Shapes Regular and Lovely.

And with her Beauty, she had Youth and Vigour; for after her Captivity, she was marry'd at *Rome*, and there had Children by a Man of the Senatorian Dignity.

But all the Symmetry of her Face, and the Beauties of her Mien, were not fit to stand in competition with the more ravishing Accomplishments of her Mind.

C H A P.

C H A P. XVIII.

Plut. M.
Anton. p.
1698. &
pass. edit.
Steph.

HER Ancestor *Cleopatra* was a Lady of great Wit, and many Languages; so that she seldom made use of an Interpreter, but her self answered all Foreigners that petition'd her in their own Languages, *Æthiopians, Troglodytes, Jews, Arabs, Syrians, Medes and Parthians*; whereas her Predecessors hardly understood the Speech of their own Country, the *Greek* and the *Coptick*; and all this variety was recommended by a charming Delivery; her Words flowing with a delicate Sweetness, intermixt with a becoming Raillery: The several Languages which she spake, were like the several Notes of a well-tun'd Lute; every thing that she said, was harmonious, and gave a new pleasure to all who heard her. And in this Qualification * *Zenobia* strove to imitate that Great Lady; she had some knowledge of the *Latin* Tongue, but out of Modesty used it not: but she spake *Greek*, and the Language of *Egypt*, in perfection: And
so

* Pol.
p. 199.

so well skill'd was she in the *Alexandrian* and *Oriental* Histories, that she is said to have written an Epitome of them; and she was also acquainted with as much of the *Roman* Affairs, as were treated of in *Greek*. And though she understood other Tongues more accurately than the *Latin*, and thought it not worth her while to be a Critick in it; yet she commanded her Sons to inure themselves to the Language of *Rome*, rather than that of *Greece*, (which they spake but seldom, and with some difficulty,) designing them probably, in her ambitious Thoughts, for the Government of that proud City, as she had already declared them Emperors; to which end she had provided her self of a pompous Chariot, in which she intended to have made her triumphant Entry into the Capital of the World, as a Conqueror; while it happen'd that she was carry'd in the same *Vopisi* Chariot a Captive into that haughty City.

And as she was very Learned her self, so she became a declared Patroness of Arts, and a Favourer of Scholars. *Longinus* (the best Critick of the Age
G he

he liv'd in, and perhaps of any Age, and a Philosopher of unquestionable Reputation) fix'd his Residence at the Court of this Heroick Empress, was admitted to a share in our Councils, taught her *Greek*, and was probably made the Governor of her Sons : And, could *Longinus* have persuaded *Porphyry*, whom by Letter he earnestly invited to *Palmyra* (with the Queen's Allowance, I doubt not) that admirable *Platonist* had tasted of her Bounty. as did *Paulus* of *Samosata*, and other Votaries of Learning in that Age.

* Id. p. 198.
Sec. Sal-
masi. cor-
rectionem.

Her Magnificence went an equipage with her Learning and her Charms. From the Coins it appears, that she took the Name of *Augusta*, managing the Empire not only in her Son's Name (as the Historian says) but in her own: And while *Gallienus* was fauntring in *Rome* among Fiddlers and Players, she kept the State of a *Persian* Monarch; and to perpetuate her Memory, she built a City on the Banks of the River *Euphrates*, toward the West, five Miles from the Castle of *Mambri*, nearer to the *Roman* Territories, but three Days Journey from *Circesium*, which she call'd

call'd by her own Name, *Zenobia*; which, Procop. Pers. l. 2. c. 5. p. 97. de Edific. l. 2. c. 8. p. 42. when in after Ages it fell into decay, was repair'd, fortify'd and beautify'd by *Justinian*; and the Place where the Emperor *Aurelian* gave her a House at *Tivoli*, thought it self happy to change its old Name for that of this magnificent Princess.

Her Court was pompous, her Grandeur eminent, she was ador'd like the *Eastern* Kings, and her Treats were as splendid as any of those made by the *Roman* Emperors. She usually wore the Royal Robe, and a Diadem; but when she made a Speech to her Army, she put on a Helmet, and appear'd like a second *Pallas*. Her Cimar was of Purple trimm'd round the Edges with rich Gems, and clasp'd in the middle with a large sparkling Diamond, instead of a Button; her Arm being often bare.

At her Feasts she was serv'd in Gold Plate, enchaft with Precious-stones, after the manner of *Cleopatra*; and chose to be attended rather by elderly Eunuchs, than Women. And the part she bore in the Triumph of *Aurelian* (than which *Rome* never saw any thing

more Pompous) though it demonstrated her great Misfortune, yet was suited to her magnificent Temper; for she was loaded with Gems of the greatest Magnitude and Value, probably the Spoils of her own Cabinet; which, though she were a Lady of a vigorous Constitution, much incommoded her, during the Cavalcade. Her Feet and Hands were chain'd with Golden Fetters; and her Necklace was a massie Gold Chain, the end of which was held up by a *Persian* Buffoon.

She was Chaste to a Miracle, (and in this she differ'd from her Ancestor the Queen of *Egypt*, whose Lewdness blemish'd her other Accomplishments,) inasmuch as she never enjoy'd her Husband's Company, but for the sake of Children; and as soon as she found she had Conceived, she retir'd, according to the Custom of the *Jews*, of whom * *Clemens* of *Alexandria* gives the same Character.

* *Ps. lxx.*
l. 2. c. 12.

And in the midst of all her Plenty, her Temperance was admirable, being always sober; though sometimes she used to drink with her Captains, to

ingratiate her self to them; and at other times, with the *Armenians* and *Persians*, the better to dive into their Secrets.

Upon all Occasions she was very Liberal, and yet managed her Largeesses with great Prudence; and took more care of her Revenues, than most Monarchs usually do: And this appear'd by the vast Summs found in her Coffers, when she fell into the Hands of *Aurelian*.

C H A P. XIX.

Z *Enobia's* Religion was at first Pagan; but she forsook the Heathen Polytheism, and became a Jewess, by whose Persuasions, I know not, (for *Philastrius* was certainly in a Dream, when he aver'd, That *Paulus* of *Samosata*, Bishop of *Antioch*, being a Judaizing Christian, and a Teacher of the Necessity of Circumcision, and other Mosaic Rites, persuaded her to turn Jew: Nor can I acquit Monsieur *Tristan*

Phot. Cod.
σζι. pag.
802. Gr.

Tom. 3.
p. 203.

of Inadvertency, when he quotes *Pho-
tius*, That *Odenathus* also quitted the
Idolatry in which he had been bred,
and turn'd Jew probably upon the Per-
suasions of his Wife; and that there is
reason to believe, that both of them
were converted by *Paulus* of *Samosata*
to Christianity; for all that he says, is
without Authority, and groundless.)
But notwithstanding her Religion, she
behav'd her self with great Temper and
Meekness towards the Christians her
Subjects, neither endeavouring to com-
pell their Consciences, nor to seize their
Churches. She was a Hater of Perse-
cution, though she were a New Con-
vert, (and such Persons are generally
very warm, and acted by an extraor-
dinary Zeal,) and though she was of
a Religion whose Profelytes have al-
ways been Haters of all who differ from
them in Principles; for * *St. Athanasius*
says, That she was so Just to the Chri-
stians, as not to convert their Churches
into Synagogues.

* *Epist. ad
Solitar.*

*Niceph. l. 6.
c. 27.*

It is the common Opinion, that she
was in a fair way to have embrac'd
Christianity, if she had falln into good
Hands; that *Paulus* of *Samosata*, the
Patriarch

Patriarch of *Antioch*, undertook the
Province, and took great pains therein,
(*Zenobia* being an excellent Disputant,
and admirably skill'd in Controversie,)
but having unhappily fallen into the
Heresie of *Artemon*, he infus'd into her
Mind very mean Notions of our Blessed
Saviour, That he was a meer Man,
and not of the same Nature with God
the Father; and that this occasion'd
his Deposition, and probably the loss
of his design'd Disciple. But it is al-
most indisputably certain, that all this
fair Story is built on a Mistake of the
words of *Theodorit*, who only says,
That *Paulus* fell into the Heresie of *Ar-
temon*; and affirm'd, That our Saviour
was only a meer Man; by this means
designing to ingratiate himself with,
and to flatter *Zenobia*, who was a
Jewess, and so would not allow Jesus
to be God.

*Lib. 2. de
Hæresib.
n. Paulus.*

*vid. Vales.
in Euseb.
l. 7. c. 30.*

It is plain from the Ecclesiastick Hi-
storian, that she had a great regard for
Paul, that she made him her *Ducenarius*,
or Procurator at *Antioch*; and that he
affected rather to be called by that
Title, than that of Bishop, being a
haughty Man, and a Lover of Secular

Euseb. l. 7.
c. 28, 29.

Grandeur ; but for his Heresie, and his vain and disallowable Morals, he was condemn'd by a Synod at *Antioch*, Anno Christi 166, and the 12th. Year of *Gallienus*, in which year *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* died : But the proud Patriarch, supported by his powerful Patroness, despised the Determination of the Synod. Whereupon, the Catholick Prelates, after *Aurelian*, the declar'd Enemy of *Zenobia*, had assum'd the Purple, call'd a Second Synod, depos'd the Heretick, and fill'd the See with *Domnus*, Son of his Predecessor *Demetrianus* : But though Condemn'd by two Synods, the Heretick maintain'd his pretended Title to his Jurisdiction, and kept the Possession of his Episcopal Palace and Revenues, though his Throne were possess'd by a more Orthodox Prelate. Whereupon, the Synod appeal'd to *Aurelian*, who order'd *Paul* to be Ejected by the Secular Power. So well affected was that Emperor towards the Christian Church at that time, tho' afterwards he chang'd his Behaviour. And it is not the most groundless of Conjectures, that *Aurelian* was so ready to serve the Orthodox against

against the Heretick ; because *Paul* was a Favorite and Dependant of *Zenobia* his Enemy, while the Catholicks were his Friends, and good Subjects.

C H A P. XX.

AND now, having accounted for her Religion, I shall adventure to describe her Course of Life, and Practises. She us'd her self to all sorts of becoming Manly Exercise ; and shew'd, upon all Occasions, a Hardiness above that of her soft Sex. She often rode on Horse-back, commonly in a Chariot, seldom was carry'd in a Chair, and very frequently march'd three or four miles on foot in the Head of her Army, having inur'd her self to bear the Fatigues of War, the Scorchings of the Sun, and the parch't Sands of the Desarts : For her Education was like that of her Husband's ; and in the opinion of some very good Judges, the Wife

Treb. Pol.
p. 192.

Wife was the braver of the two ; the most Courageous, as well as the Fairest of her Sex. She often arm'd her Head with a Casque, and as often assisted at her Councils of War ; and such an esteem she had of true Magnanimity, that she told *Aurelian*, That she accounted *Gallienus* and *Aureolus* Milk-sops, but she esteem'd him qualify'd to make an Emperor of the World ; because he was a Stout and Adventurous General. She accompany'd *Odenathus* in all his Expeditions, and was with him when he so succesfully attempted the *Perfians*.

The *Perfians*, it must be confest, used to carry their Wives with them into the Field, but rather for Show and Magnificence, that they might enjoy the pleasure of seeing a fierce Battle fought, and be exempt from all the Hazards of it ; but *Zenobia* went into the Field as a great General, and had her share in the Dangers of the Engagement.

And this part of her August Character her Enemy *Aurelian* gave her :
 1b. p. 198. For when it was objected to him, That he made a mighty bustle about a Trifle, when he triumph't over an unfortunate

Woman :

Woman : — He told the Senate,
 “ That they knew not the Accomplish-
 “ ments of that Great Lady ; That she
 “ was Prudent and Politick in her
 “ Councils, and Constant to her Reso-
 “ lutions ; That she had an entire and
 “ undisputed Power over her Army ;
 “ was very Liberal, when Necessity
 “ requir'd ; and very Sharp, when Se-
 “ verity was requisite ; That it was by
 “ her Conduct, that *Odenathus* over-
 “ came the *Perfians*, put *Sapores* to
 “ flight, and march't to the Walls of
 “ *Ctesiphon* ; That she made all the *East*,
 “ and all *Egypt* tremble, when neither
 “ the *Arabs*, nor the *Saracens*, nor the
 “ *Armenians* could affright them ; and
 “ and that he gave her her Life, upon
 “ the prospect that such an extraordi-
 “ nary Heroine, who could preserve
 “ and manage the vast Empire of the
 “ *East* for her self and Children, would
 “ be of great Advantage to the Com-
 “ monwealth, and teach the *Romans*
 “ the Rules of Conduct and Govern-
 “ ment.

To make good this Character, and to let the World see how well the Delicate Sex might be accomplisht for Rule
 and

and Dominion, she told the Emperor, That if she had succeeded in her Attempt, she design'd to have constituted *Victoria*, the Wife of *Victorinus*, another brave Lady of that Age (who had made more than one Emperor, and took to her self the Title of *Augusta*, and is stiled in the Coins and Historians, *Mater Castrorum*) her Companion in the Royal Dignity, and between them they would have divided the Empire of the World.

The only Fault which I find her charg'd with (except her Fear, when she fell into the Hands of *Aurelian*, which prompted her to discover all her Friends and Assistants to that cruel Prince, who presently murther'd them, for in this she fell beneath the Great *Cleopatra*,) was her dislike of her Son-in-Law *Herodes*, whom *Odenathus* had begotten on a former Wife, and that she consented to his murther, that the Empire might devolve on her own Sons, *Herennianus* and *Timolans*. But this is reported by only one Historian; and I cannot believe, that to rid her hands of a Son-in-Law, she would consent to the Parricide of her Husband, whom

whom she lov'd so dearly, and who so well deserv'd it; for they both fell at the same time, and by the same Hand. But Diamonds have their Flaws; and the richest Metals, some Alloy.

I have thus endeavour'd to set this Heroine in a true Light; for it would not have been just, to treat a Princess of such rare Endowments both of Mind and Body (who was the Ornament of her Sex, and the Wonder of the Age she liv'd in, reverenc'd over all the *East*, and admir'd even at *Rome* by her bitterest Adversaries) with a meager and jejune Character, though the best Descriptions, even of the ancient Writers, fall below her Merit. And now I shall proceed to a more particular Account of her Atchievements.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXI.

Treb. Pol.
p. 180, 197.

Odenathus and Herodian being slain, Zenobia, during the Minority of her two Sons (who were left very young) Herennianus and Timolauts, whom she declar'd *Principes Juventutis* & *Augusti*, took upon her the Empire, (Monsieur Patin says, * That Gallienus gave her the Title of *Empress*, but without Proof : but whether it was given her, or she assum'd it, Theodorit and Nicephorus Callisti are much mistaken, who call her only the *Toparch* of the Country, and affirm, that she ow'd her Dominion and Territory to the *Persians*, who having overcome the *Romans*, gave her the Government of *Syria* and *Phœnice*;) and she manag'd it not like a Woman, nor only better than Gallienus, but with more Courage and better Conduct than many famous Emperors, and gave Gallienus a Specimen of her Abilities, in a few Months after she had undertook to wield her Scepter. For when the News of Odenathus's Murder was brought to Rome, the Emperor, who

who had some Courage (for he was an odd mixture of Softness and Hardiness) made Preparations of War, though very late, against the *Persians*, to revenge his Fathers ignominious and barbarous Death ; and to this end, sent an Army under *Heraclianus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, a famous General, and a true Lover of his Country, into the *East*. But *Zenobia*, jealous of his Design, and resolv'd neither to dethrone her Sons, nor to devest her self of the Imperial Purple, and acknowledge the *Roman* Authority, met him upon the Borders of *Persia*, fought him, and routed and destroyed his whole Army. This General *Heraclian*, * *Cuspinian* calls * *Cass. Herodian*, by a great Mistake, affirm-^{p. 74.} ing, that he was the Governor of *Gallia* (*Dux Galliæ*;) and that he was oppos'd by *Zenobia*, because he made the Expedition into *Persia* without her Order.

Heraclianus, upon his return from ^{Zosim. l. 1.} this unfortunate Expedition, where his ^{p. 37.} Honour had been sacrificed, and his ^{Treb. Pol. p. 181.} Life with great difficulty saved, having assisted in the driving the *Scythians* or *Goths* out of *Greece*, entred into

Tom. 3.

p. 177.

* L. I. p. 35.

Treb. Pol.

p. 199.

into a Conspiracy with *Claudius*, the next Man in Dignity and Employment to the Emperor ; and having engag'd *Cecropius*, the General of the *Dalmatian* Forces, in the Design, they by his Hand slew *Gallienus*, (this *Cecropius*, the General of the *Dalmatians*, Monsieur *Tristan* believes to be the same *Cecrops* the *Moor*, whom * *Zosimus* affirms to have assum'd the Empire, when *Gallienus* return'd from *Germany* to *Rome*, to drive the *Scythians* out of *Italy*; and that he was call'd the *Moor*, because made Governor of *Mauritania* by *Claudius* : Whereas *Zosimus* affirms, that the other Disturbers of that Reign of *Gallienus*, *Cecrops*, *Antoninus*, and the like, were brought to condign Punishment by him, only *Aurelius* survived : And if so, *Cecropius* in *Zosimus* could not be the same who murther'd *Gallienus*,) and by a general Consent *Claudius* was declar'd Emperor, who (as *Aurelian* in his *Letters* declares) suffer'd *Zenobia* to Reign quietly, while he was busied in the *Gothick* War. And in this he acted very politickly, that that Warlike Lady preserving the Boundaries of the Eastern Empire free from Disturbance,

Disturbance, he might the more securely accomplish his other Designs ; and in this Resolution he persisted, though the Senate, when he was elected, cried out five times, O *Emperor Claudius, deliver us from the Palmyrenians* : And again seven times, O *Emperor Claudius, rescue us from Zenobia and Victorina*. For he was forc'd to acknowledge in his Letters, That as *Tetricus* had made himself Master of all *France* and *Spain* ; so the Queen of *Palmyra*, to their shame be it spoken, was posselt of all their Archers. Pol. p. 204.

While the Forces of the Empire were employ'd by *Claudius*, in the First Year of his Reign (*Anno Christi* 270, *Antiochianus* and *Orphitus* being Consuls) to compel the *Scythians* to repass the *Danube*, and to return to their own Country, (for they had ravag'd *Asia* and *Achaia*, *Acarnania*, *Beotia*, *Thessaly*, and the adjacent Countries,) *Zenobia* sent her Troops into *Egypt*, to reduce that fertile Country under her Jurisdiction ; the Inhabitants of that rich Province having, upon the News of the Death of *Gallienus*, unanimously acknowledg'd and taken the Oath of

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Allegiance to *Claudius*, though he were absent. This *Zenobia* resented, as an Injury offer'd to her own Title, and the Succession of her Sons, it being usual for the Junior *Augustus*, upon the Death of the Elder, to claim the Possession of the whole Empire : Or else she took this occasion to assert her Pretensions to that Kingdom ; for she derived her Pedegree from the Family of the *Ptolemy's*, and particularly from *Cleopatra* the last Queen of that Country, whom the *Romans* had by force dispossess'd.

To make this Conquest, she sent her General *Zabdas* into *Egypt* (where a Party of the Natives, under *Timagenes* (*Pollio* calls him *Timogenes*) had already declar'd for her Interest, and supported her Claim) who with a powerful Army of Seventy thousand Men, made up of *Palmyrenians*, *Syrians* and *Barbarians*, fought Fifty thousand *Egyptians*, and after a very sharp Engagement (in which the Militia of *Palmyra* continued the Fight with unwearied Obstinacy and Pertinaciousness) got the Victory : After which, having left Five thousand of his Soldiers behind him to keep the Country in awe, he return'd to *Palmyra*.

While

While this Invasion was made, *Probus*, whom the Emperor *Claudius* had declar'd the Præfect of *Egypt*, was, according to Command, scouring the neighbouring Seas of the Pyrates, who, in those times of Disorder, much infested the bottom of the *Streights* : But as soon as he heard the fatal News, that during his Absence, *Egypt* had been subdued ; he return'd with all speed, forming an Army of what Forces he had with him, and such other of the Natives as were content to Lift themselves for the Service, and to throw off the Yoke of the *Palmyrenians*, which they hated ; and making an Attempt upon the Guards whom *Zabdas* had left to preserve his New Conquest in Obedience, he drove them out of the Country.

Upon the Report of this Revolution, *Zabdas* return'd ; but *Probus* having in the mean time strengthened his Troops with Recruits from *Lybia*, and the remoter Parts of *Egypt*, attack't the Enemy, got the Victory, and drove the Men of *Palmyra* a second time out of that Country.

In pursuit of this Victory, *Probus* possess himself of a Hill near *Babylon* (the *Egyptian* City of that Name) that he might preclude *Zabdas* from retiring into *Syria*. But *Timagenes*, who exactly knew all the Country, with Two thousand *Palmyrenians* got to the top of the Hill, unknown to the *Egyptians*, and falling upon them unexpectedly, cut them all off. Which when their General saw, he, not willing to outlive his Honour, fell on his own Sword.

C H A P. XXII.

EGypt being thus reduc'd under the Power of *Zenobia*, the remainder of the *Barbarians*, who outliv'd the Battle fought between *Claudius* and the *Goths*, at *Naissus*, secured themselves within a Tabor of their Waggon, and so made their Retreat: A violent Pestilence at the same time raging in both Camps; in which Contagion, *Claudius*,
one

one of the most Accomplish'd of the *Roman* Princes, breath'd his last. To him *Quintillus* his Brother succeeded; but hearing that *Aurelian* was chosen Emperor, he order'd his Physicians to cut his Veins, and so expir'd.

Aurelian having baffled the *Scythians*, and subdued all the Pretenders to the Government, having built the Walls of *Rome*, and settled the Civil State of that City (which took up the two first Years of his Reign) undertook an Expedition into the *East*, to reduce *Palmyra*, which at that time had brought under its Jurisdiction all *Egypt*, and all the *East*, home to *Ancyra* the Metropolis of *Galatia*; and would have extended its Conquests over *Bithynia* to the Gates of *Chalcedon*, if the Inhabitants, having been made acquainted with the Resolutions of *Aurelian*, had not emancipated themselves from that Yoke.

Aurelian did not march directly into the *East*, but secured the Provinces ^{Vopisc. p. 216,} through which he went, being forc'd to fight many Battels by the way, before he reach'd *Syria*. For in *Illyricum* and *Thrace* he overthrew the remainders

of the *Goths*, and slew Five thousand of them, with their Commander *Cannabas*. After which, he march'd through *Byzantium* into *Bitthynia*, which had declar'd for his Interests ; took *Tyana*, which was betray'd to him by *Heraclammon*, but spar'd the City, for the sake of the Philosopher *Apollonius*, who was born there, while he order'd the Traytor to be executed ; all the other Cities between *Tyana* and *Antioch* rendring themselves.

Near *Antioch*, *Zenobia* had fix'd her station, in the Head of a numerous Army advantageously posted. But *Aurelian* was a Prince of Undaunted Courage, a Bold Spirit, and Dextrous Address ; and prepar'd himself, as became a Prudent General, for a Battel : And observing, that the Strength of *Zenobia's* Forces consisted in her Horse-men, (who were arm'd *Cap-a-pée*, and better understood Horsemanship than the *Roman* Troops) he posted his Foot beyond the River *Orontes*, in a separate Body, and commanded his Horse not to engage the *Palmyrenians* while their Body was fresh and lusty ; but when they charg'd, to retire, and dissemble a Flight,

Flight, till the extreme Heat of the Weather, and the Weight of their heavy Arms had tyred them, and forc'd them to desist from the Pursuit. The due Observation of this Order got the Victory : For when the *Romans*, by this manner of Fighting, had fatigued the *Palmyrenian* Troops, and tyred their Horses, then they charg'd them with the utmost Vigour, and as they fell from their Horses, or their Horses sunk under them, trod them under their feet. The Slaughter was various ; some were slain with the Sword, others stifled with the fall of their own Horses upon them, a third sort trampled to death by the *Roman* Troops, while the scatter'd remainders of that great Army fled to *Antioch*.

This Battel was fought (says * *Eu- * Chron. sebius*) in the second Year of the ^{cx vers.} Olympiad, Anno Christi 273, at (a) *Imma*, not far from *Antioch*,

(a) apud *Timas*. Hier. (lege apud *Imas*, an easie Mistake of the Copyist for apud *Imas*.) apud *Imas*, in *Sextus Rufus*, and *Eutropius*. In *Ptolemy*, *Ἰμμα*. In *Georgius Syncellus*, *Ἰμμα*. In *St. Hier. Vit. Malchi*, *Imma*.— It was a Town of *Seleucia*, between *Gindarus* and *Gephyra*, says *Ptolemy*. And *Hier.* says, that the Desert of *Chalcis* is situate between *Imma* and *Emesa* to the South.

and in the Engagement *Pompeianus* the *Frank* (whose Family thereupon settled at *Antioch*, and was in being in St. *Jerom's* time, his dear Friend *Euagrius* being of that House and Lineage) did the Emperor extraordinary Service, and behav'd himself with great Bravery. And it was this Battel, or rather the
 * L. 7. c. 23. Shadow of a Battel, says * *Orosius*, for *Zenobia* was rather frighted than beaten into Submission) that put that Great Princess into the Hands of the *Romans*, and decided the Controversie (say *Eutropius*, and *Aurelius Victor*.) But they are both mistaken; for *Zenobia* lost her Empire in a much sharper Engagement at *Emesa*, where her Forces were entirely routed: Of which more in the next Chapter.

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C H A P. XXIII.

Z *Abdas* the General of *Zenobia's* Army, a Commander of great Experience, and (till then) as great Success, fearing lest the People of *Antioch*, upon the report of the loss of the Battel, should have fallen upon and insulted the remains of his Conquer'd Troops, having found a Man who somewhat resembled *Aurelian*, clad him in such Habit as that Prince used to wear when he fought, leading him through the Streets of that large City in Triumph, as if he had gotten the Victory, and made the Emperor his Prisoner.

By this Stratagem *Zabdas* imposed upon the Citizens of *Antioch*, and amuzed them the remaining part of that Day, till the Night coming on, he retir'd with *Zenobia* to *Emesa*: And thus he deluded the *Antiochians*, who otherwise would have much incommoded his Retreat, and escap'd being surpriz'd and ruin'd by *Aurelian*; for the Emperor had recall'd his Foot from the other side of the *Orontes*, with an

an Intention, the next day, to have fallen upon the reliques of the *Palmyrenian Army* on every side : But his Design was frustrated by the flight of *Zenobia* ; whereupon he alter'd his Intentions, and enter'd *Antioch*, being receiv'd by the Citizens with all the Marks of Zeal for his Service ; and was so well pleas'd with the Testimonies of their Repentance and Submission, that he publish'd an Indemnity to the Inhabitants, and recall'd those who had fled out of fear of being punish'd for adhering to the Interests of the Queen of *Palmyra*.

At this time *Aurelian* was inform'd, that a Party of the *Palmyrenians* had posted themselves advantageously on a Hill that overlook'd *Daphne*, the famous Suburb of *Antioch*, in confidence that the Steepness of the Place would secure them from all the Attacks of the *Romans*. But the Emperor commanded his Infantry to draw themselves into their Close Order, and to cover themselves with their Shields, so to bear off the Darts and Stones that their Adversaries might hurl down upon them : And by this method they got an easie Victory,

Victory, and put all their Enemies to flight ; whom the *Romans* pursued so closely, that some were forc'd to throw themselves off from the Precipices, and so were torn in pieces, while the remainder perish'd by the Swords of the Victors.

After this, the Cities of *Apamea*, *Larissa* and *Arethusa* open'd their Gates, and submitted to the Conqueror, receiving him with all the Marks of Honour and Respect. But *Aurelian* understanding that the Army of *Zenobia*, and her Allies, being no less than Seventy thousand Men, were encamp't in the Plain before *Emesa*, immediately mov'd towards them, and encamp't with his *Dalmatian*, *Myrian* and *Pannonian* Horse, with the Legions of *Noricum* and *Rhætia*, and with his *Prætorian* Bands, who were all select Troops, and tryed Men, in view of the Enemy. Besides these Regiments, *Aurelian* had in his Army several Troops of *Moorish* Horse, of the Militia of *Asia*, from *Tyana*, and from *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, *Phenicia*, and *Palestine*, all choice Men.

When the Armies engag'd, the *Roman* Horse took care not to be enclos'd by

by the *Palmyrenians*, who were superior to them in number, and gall'd them very severely, breaking and disordering their Ranks. But as they were about to turn their backs, the *Roman* Foot charg'd the Enemy's Troops so briskly, that they soon put them to flight. Upon this followed a bloody slaughter, the *Jews* falling on with their Clubs and Maces, which made a thundering and unusual Noise upon the Armour of Brass and Iron in which the *Palmyrenians* charg'd: The whole Country was cover'd with the Carcasses of Men and Horses, while the few that escap'd, fled to the City.

Zenobia being extremely grieved, as she ought, at her Defeat, deliberated what she should do; and it was unanimously in Council agreed, That she should desert *Emesa* (the Inhabitants of the City being her Enemies, and wishing well to the *Romans*) and betake herself to *Palmyra*, where being more secure, she might consult at leisure how to repair her lost Fortunes. This Advice she immediately comply'd with, and fled to *Palmyra*.

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The News of her flight being brought to *Aurelian*, he entred *Emesa* in Triumph, cover'd with the Trophies of a noble Victory, and was receiv'd by the Citizens with all the Marks of Joy, and according to the Deserts of an Invincible Hero. At *Emesa* he seiz'd the Treasures of *Zenobia*, which, by reason of her precipitate haste, she was forc'd to leave behind her, and then with all imaginable speed mov'd toward *Palmyra*. In his March, the *Syrian* Banditti much ^{Vopisc.} infested his Camp; for they had, du- ^{p. 218.} ring the Disturbances of the Empire, ^{Vistor.} made themselves very formidable, their ^{p. 155.} Troops being numerous, their Horses fleet to admiration, and the Desarts favouring their retreat with their Prey; inasmuch as at this time it was Proverbial at *Rome*, *That none but Women and Thieves govern'd the East.*

When *Aurelian* had quitted himself of these troublesome Attendants, he form'd the Siege of *Palmyra*, straightly beleaguering the City, and fortifying his Camp with Castles, while the neighbouring Nations furnisht him with all sorts of Provisions. The Besieged, in the mean time, being possess'd with a
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vain Opinion, That their City was Impregnable, derided the Attempts of the *Romans*, as if they must be forc'd, in a few days, to raise their Siege, for want of Necessaries ; while the City was well provided with all the requisites of War, the Garrison numerous and brave, and engaged to fight, not, as before, for Glory and Conquest, but for their Wives and Children, and their own Liberties, their All being at stake: For it was beyond the reach of Fancy to imagine (says *Aurelian*, in his Letter to *Mucapores*) what vast quantities of Arms and Military Stores were in that City ; that no part of the Wall was without two or three Engines to throw Darts, and other Instruments of Mischief, into the Enemies Camp ; that with some of their Machines they threw Fire among their Tents ; and that the Garrison behav'd themselves with so much Resolution, that *Aurelian* having been wounded with an Arrow, had like to have breath'd his last under the Walls of *Palmyra*.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXIV.

THIS Resolution of the Besieged, join'd to the many Fatigues the Emperor was obliged to undergo, made him almost quite weary of his Design : Whereupon he wrote to *Zenobia*, requiring her to surrender the Place, and promising her and her Confederates, that they should be allowed to live in great Plenty and Security, in such a part of the Empire as the Senate should appoint, upon Condition, that all her Treasure and Arms, her Horses and Camels, should be given up to the *Romans* ; after which, *Palmyra* should be permitted to be a Free Commonwealth, as it had been in past Ages. But the haughty Queen kept up her Courage, though her Fortunes were sunk, and return'd the Emperor this Answer :

Zenobia

*Zenobia the Queen of the East,
To the Emperor Aurelian.*

NO Man ever yet, except your self, durst demand of me, what your Letters require. Whatsoever is to be achieved in War, must be gotten by Courage and Resolution. You command me to surrender my self and Empire; but you have forgotten, that Cleopatra chose rather to die by her own Hand, than to lessen and outlive her Grandeur. I am not destitute of Assistance; I daily expect Succours from the Persians: The Saracens and Armenians are in my Interests; and the very Free-booters of my Country have already insulted and baffled your Army. When these Auxiliary Troops arrive, which I look for from all Quarters, you will abate of your imperious Demands, though you now require me to yield, as if you had already gotten an entire Conquest, and had made your self Lord of all the East.

This Epistle inflam'd Aurelian, and put him upon doing all that a wife and brave General ought to have attempted,

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to reduce the City; he intercepted the Persian Succours, and debauch't the Saracens and Armenians, whom he corrupted by Money, and bought off, till they deserted, according to the Custom of those fickle and changeable Nations, who are true only to their own Interests, and pay their Homage and Services to that Prince who bids most for them.

When the Garrison heard that all their Relief was cut off, and saw the Emperor bent to carry on his Attacks with the utmost vigour, being also much prest with the want of Necessaries, they determin'd to send their Queen over the Euphrates into Persia; to beg the Assistance of that great King; and to this end, they did set Zenobia on a female Camel, which sort of Creatures run swifter than any Horse; (others say, on a swift Dromedary,) and convey'd her out of the City.

Aurelian, vex'd heartily that his Enemy had made her escape, dispatch't his Light-Horse to overtake her, who seiz'd on her as she was just embark't, endeavouring to reach the farther side of the Euphrates, and brought her back

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to the *Roman* Camp with mighty Joy and Triumph.

In the mean time, the Garrison was divided in their Sentiments, one Party of them resolving to maintain the Town to the last Man, and to the last drop of their Blood ; while others were determined to supplicate the Emperor's Pardon, and to surrender. And this last Opinion prevail'd ; whereupon, *Aurelian* having given his Promise, that they should be indemnify'd for whatever was past, they open'd their Gates, and begg'd the Conqueror's Mercy, who receiv'd them with all Kindness, and took care they should not suffer any damage.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXV.

Thus was that proud City, emulous of the Glory of Old *Rome*, reduc'd under the Power of *Aurelian*, who having possess'd himself of all the Treasure and rich Moveables of it, return'd to *Emesa*, and there sat in Judgment on *Zenobia* and her Accomplices. For the Army were ready to mutiny, and petition'd, that she that had been the cause of all their Hardships, should be Executed. But *Aurelian*, who had a grand Esteem for her Courage, and other Heroical Qualifications, and who could not have forgotten the Merits of her Husband *Odenathus*, and his great Services, who supported the sinking Empire in the *East*, and preserv'd it from utter Ruine, thought it beneath the Courage of a brave Man to murder a Woman, one of so rare Endowments, and who had for some years worn the Sacred Purple, in cold blood ; and being convinc'd, that it would more contribute to his Glory, to carry her in Triumph to *Rome*, than to put her

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to Death in the *East*, he preserv'd her from the Rage of the incens'd Soldiers; and to satisfie the Mutinous, sharply expostulated with her the Reasons of her Obstinacy, and caused all those to be slain who had engaged her to take up Arms against *Aurelian*. This occasion'd the Execution of many eminent Persons, among whom the most learned *Longinus* met his Fate with great Resolution; and to the last, he bore his Sufferings with a Philosophical Courage, and was so far from being affrighted with the Shadows of the Grave, that he comforted his Friends who bemoan'd his Destiny, and convinc'd them, that if this lower World be but one large Prison, he is the happiest Man who is soonest discharg'd and set at liberty.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXVI.

THe Affairs of the *East* having ^{supise.} thus been adjusted, and the ^{p. 219.} Country left without Disturbance, *Au-* ^{Zosim. l. 1, p. 55:} *relian* determin'd to return into *Europe*; but before he could reach *Rome*, while he was passing through *Rhodopa*, a Province of *Thrace*, the Inhabitants of *Palmyra*, who could not content themselves with their meaner Circumstances (the loss of their Empire being a continual Affliction) resolv'd to betake themselves to their Arms, to recover their ancient Grandeur. In pursuit of this Design, they fell upon *Sandario*, and the Six hundred Archers whom the Emperor had left there in Garrison, and putting them to the Sword, chose *Achilleus* (the Father of their Captive Queen *Zenobia*) their Prince. But as soon as the Emperor heard of the Revolt, being a General of unwearied Diligence and Dispatch, he immediately march'd back into *Asia*, and utterly destroy'd that unhappy City.

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This part of the Story *Zosimus* tells somewhat differently ; That the Men of *Palmyra*, instigated by *Apseus*, who had in former times been a busie Agitator among them, attempted to persuade *Marcellius* (*T. Nonnius Marcellinus*, I suppose, who afterwards was Consul in Year of the Emperor *Tacitus*, *Anno Christi* 275,) whom *Aurelian* had constituted his Governor of *Mesopotamia*, and the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *East*, to take upon him the Empire. He put them off from day to day ; and under the pretext of considering so weighty an Affair, before he determin'd his Resolutions, gain'd time till he had certify'd *Aurelian* of the Revolt ; but at last he positively refused to take the Purple. Whereupon they chose *Antiochus* their King, and arm'd themselves in his defence.

Upon the News that *Marcellinus* sent, the Emperor doubled his March, and in a short time came to *Antioch* ; the Inhabitants, who were busied about their Sports, in seeing the Horse-races, being surpriz'd at his coming ; from whence he immediately speeded to *Palmyra*, which without fighting he took,
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and raz'd, giving *Antiochus* his Life and Liberty, accounting him beneath his Anger.

In the Sack of the City, the Soldiers were surfeited with Blood and Rapine (as *Aurelian*, in his Letters to *Cejonius Bassus*, relates) sparing neither Age, Sex nor Quality, involving Women and Children, Old and Young, the Nobility and the Boors in the same common Ruine, till there was hardly left a Man to inhabit the City, or to manure the Ground.

Such a Revenge satiated even the fierce Temper of *Aurelian*, inasmuch as he wrote to *Cejonius Bassus* (or rather *Cerronius*, according to the old Copies, probably the same *Cerronius*, the General of the *Dalmatian* Troops, who slew *Gallienus*, whom, I conjecture, *Aurelian* left the Governor of *Palmyrene*) to put a period to the Carnage, and to spare the poor remains of that unfortunate City, enjoyning him expressly to build the Temple of the *Sun* (which had been sack't and rifled by the Soldiers of the Third Legion) as magnificently as it had been in times past ^{vid. *Ap.*} _{pend.} (and by the Ruines of it extant at this
I 4 day,

day, it appears to have been a stupendous Building) to the repairing this noble Structure he enjoined him to expend 300 Pound weight of Gold, which he found in the Coffers of *Zenobia*, besides 1800 Pound weight of Silver, which was rais'd from the sale of the Peoples Goods, together with the Crown Jewels, all which he order'd to be sold, to make Money to beautifie the Temple, while himself promises to write to the Senate to send a Priest from *Rome* to Dedicate it.

After this, *Aurelian* return'd into *Europe* without any disturbance, carrying the unhappy *Zenobia* his Prisoner with him to *Rome*, till she became one of the Ornaments of his Triumph; whither I shall follow her, to compleat her Story, when I have briefly consider'd the Fortunes of her Associate *Firmius*.

C H A P.

C H A P. XVII.

WHEN *Aurelian* had put to death all *Zenobia's* Councillors, Military Officers, and Associates, and destroy'd the City, *Marcus Firmius* (as the Coins stile him, while the Historians call him *Firmus*) one of the Confederates of the Captive Princefs, took upon him the Title of Emperor, and * *Vopif.* endeavour'd to revenge her Quarrel: p. 242. He was born at *Seleucia*, and bred up to all manner of robust Exercifes, Nature having fitted him with a Gigantick Body qualified for such Undertakings; his Stature was tall to a Prodigy; and his Limbs so firm, that supporting himself only with his Hands, he could endure the Smiths, when they had laid an Anvil on his bare Breast, to smite on it with their Sledges: And proportionable to his Strength was his Stomach, for he used to eat an Ostrich at a Meal; and could swallow at a sitting, though his usual Drink was Water, as much Wine as two Buckets would hold: He had also amast vast Wealth,

Vid. Sal-
maf. in loc.

Wealth, having often sent his Ships to trade in the *East-Indies*, which return'd loaden with all sort of rich Goods, and among other Rarities, two Elephants Teeth of ten Foot long : And of the Products of *Egypt*, he had in his Warehouse as much Paper and Glew as would maintain an Army. And, that he might keep a Port suitable to his Station, to his Riches, and his Dignity, he built him a noble and pompous Palace at *Alexandria*.

Firminus having thus fill'd his Coffers, and provided all things necessary to maintain the Interest he resolv'd to engage in, declar'd himself a Friend and Confederate to *Zenobia*, (nor is it altogether improbable that *Zenobia* constituted him, being a Man of extraordinary Strength and Courage, and Master of a great Estate, her Governor over *Egypt*, when *Zabdas* had conquer'd it,) and when that Illustrious Queen fell into her Misfortunes, he enter'd into a League with the *Blemmyæ* and *Saracens*, and then declar'd himself Emperor (as the Coins expressly prove, tho' *Aurelian*, according to the Custom of that Age, which stiled all Tyrants and

Usurpers

Usurpers Thieves, will not allow him a better Title than that of the *Egyptian Robber*, and though *Vopiscus* says that he declar'd *Egypt* a Free State, refusing to assume the Ensigns of Royalty) and having recollected the scatter'd Forces of *Zenobia's* Army, undertook to support the improsperous Cause, and to defend *Alexandria*.

But no Power could resist the Genius of *Aurelian* ; for after the return of that great Man from *Carræ*, *Firminus* fell a Victor to the Conqueror, and some say, became his own Executioner. But *Aurelian* himself affirms, that after he had routed his Army, he besieged him in *Alexandria*, and having taken the City by Storm, he severely chastised the Citizens for their Sedition, but Crucify'd their Ephemorous Emperor (for he did not reign a full Year) which was the usual Punishment to which Thieves were Condemn'd.

From *Egypt* the fierce and indefatigable Emperor march'd his Troops toward the *West*, vex'd and angry that *Tetricus* still maintain'd his Pretensions to the Purple in *France* ; but upon his approach, *Tetricus*, who could no longer endure

endure nor digest the Insolence of his Legions, gave up his Army to *Aurelian*, who having thus quietted the Affairs of both the *East* and *West*, return'd to *Rome* with his Captives, which City he resolv'd to enter in State, as the Lord of the Universe.

C H A P. XXVIII.

THE Affairs of *Zenobia*, after she fell into the Hands of *Aurelian*, are differently related. * *Zosimus* avers, that the Victorious Emperor carried her, her Son, and all her Accomplices with him towards *Rome*, and that it was reported, that she either died of some Disease, or that refusing all manner of Sustenance, she starved her self; and that the rest of the Captives, except her Son, were Shipwrack't, and drown'd in the *Streights*, between *Chalcedon* and *Byzantium*. † *Malela* says, that *Aurelian* caus'd her to ride on a Dromedary, and carry'd her with him through

† *Pav. 2.*
P. 327.

through all the *East*, till he came to *Antioch*, where for three Days he expos'd her to the sight of the People, loaden with Fetters, who had often seen her in the height of her Glory; after which, he transported her to *Rome*, where, after she had acted her part among the Princes of the conquer'd Provinces, he caus'd her to be Beheaded. But * *Zonaras* talks doubtfully, his Authors from whom he derived his * *Tom. 2.* Notices differing in their Accounts; † *P. 240.* some affirming, that the Victor us'd her with the greatest Clemency, and marry'd her at *Rome* to a Man of Quality, (*Syncellus* says he was a Senator,) others, that she died by the way, oppress'd with grief for the loss of her Empire, and that *Aurelian* himself married one of her Daughters, and dispos'd of the others for Wives to the most Illustrious of the *Romans*.

But in the Memoirs of the Western Affairs, we are rather to be guided by the Writers of that Country, who may be presumed to have been better acquainted with what was done in their own Country, than those who liv'd at a great distance in the East. And they all

Hier.Chron.
Eutrop.
Treb. Pol.
&c.

all agree, that *Zenobia* surviv'd all her Misfortunes, that *Aurelian* gave her her Life for her own sake, and for the Merits of *Odenathus*, and that she lived very happily in *Italy*, after she, having been devested of the Empire of the *East*, had made her Figure in the Triumph of *Aurelian*; and I shall account for the Pomp of it, which the Historian says was Specious and Magnificent, because that was the last of the Imperial Triumphs, which was made according to the ancient manner. Though it must be confest, that *Onuphrius Pavinius* says, that the last Triumph was that of *Belisarius*, who, by the Order of the Emperor *Justinian*, was allowed to make his Entry into the City of *Constantinople* in a Triumphant Chariot, drawn by four Horses a breast, after he had recover'd *Africa* out of the hands of the *Vandals*, and made *Gelimer* their King his Prisoner; and that his Scholiast *Joachim Maderus* affirms, that *Heraclius*, *Johannes Comnenus*, and *Manuel* his Son, had their several Triumphs: But these have no relation to *Rome*, but to *Constantinople*. And of the Triumph of *Belisarius*,

sarius, *Procopius* says expressly, that it was not according to the ancient method, but that he began his Procession at his own House, from whence he march'd on foot to the *Hippodrome*, and from thence to the Imperial Throne; and withal he avers, that for near Six hundred Years before *Belisarius*, the Honour of the Triumph was not given to any other, since the days of *Titus* and *Trajan*, and those other great Emperors who had conquer'd the *Barbarians*; among whom, I suppose, he includes *Aurelian*.

Vandal.
l. 2. c. 9.
p. 255.
ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
οἴκου τῆς
πρὸς ἀλλὰ
τῆς Ἰπποδρόμου
&c.

C H A P. XXIX.

THE Triumphal Pomp was always very August: The whole Senate march'd in their several Ranks toward the Capitol, being followed by the Trumpets of War, who sounding a Charge, introduc'd the Representations of the several Countries that had been subdued, and the Cities that had been taken,

Episc.
p. 220.
& Onufr.
de Triumph.
p. 140.

taken, done in exquisite Imagery and Picture: After these followed the Riches of the Conquer'd Provinces, vast quantities of Gold and Silver, and noble Gems, Crowns and Royal Robes, and the other Ornaments of Royalty and Grandeur, intermix'd with the Arms that were peculiar to the Regions that had been reduc'd under the *Roman* Power: These were succeeded, among others, by a long Train of Sacrifices, and Priests attending that Service, all clad in rich Garments of Silk and Purple, interwove with Gold: Then came the Chariots of the unfortunate Princes, with a long train of their faithful Subjects, who, to shew their Fidelity, were content to follow the adverse Fortune of their Sovereigns.

When *Aurelian* made his Entry into that superb City, there were three Royal Chariots very remarkable: The first belong'd to the Hero *Odenathus*, (while alive) richly adorn'd with Gold, and Silver, and Precious-Stones, which gave it a peculiar Lustre. The second, no less glorious than the first, was a Present made by the King of *Persia* to the Great *Aurelian*, (who also presented him

him with a Purple Robe, of so beautiful a Dye, dipt in the *Indies*, that nothing of the Imperial Wardrobe, or the Cabinets of the *Roman* Ladies, was comparable to it.) The third, was the Chariot which *Zenobia* had caused to be made for her self, in hopes to have entred *Rome* in Triumph, after she had reduced that proud City. 'Tis true, she made her entry into *Rome* in the same Chariot; but she rode in it a Captive, not a Queen.

These Chariots were followed by a fourth, which (as it was reported) did once belong to the King of the *Goths*, drawn by four Stags a-breast, in which *Aurelian* (clad in the famous Purple above-mentioned, which he afterwards dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and which after Ages look'd on with Admiration) was drawn to the Capitol, where he sacrificed the Stags, according to a Vow made to *Jupiter*, when he took the Chariot. In the head of these Chariots march'd twenty Elephants; of *Lybian* Lions, Leopards and Panthers, as also of those of *Palestine*, two hundred; which, after the Triumph was ended, *Aurelian* bestowed on his

K private

vid. *Sal-*
mas. in *Vo-*
pisc. pag.
371.

private Friends, that he might lessen the Publick Expence. These were followed by four Tygars, by several Camelopardali, Elks, and other strange Beasts, each in their orders.

Part of this Pomp consisted of eight hundred pair of Gladiators destin'd to the Entertainment of the People, and of an infinite number of Captives; for, besides the Barbarous Nations of the *Blemmyes*, the Inhabitants of *Axum*, and of *Arabia the Happy*; the *Indians*, *Bactrians*, *Iberians*, *Saracens* and *Persians*; and after them, the *Goths*, the *Alans*, the *Roxolans*, the *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, *Suevians*, *Vandals* and *Germans*, with their Hands bound behind their Backs, preceded the Imperial Chariot. Among these, the principal Men of *Palmyra*, as many as had outliv'd the Calamity of their Country, and the Rebels of *Egypt*, had their station. But the most remarkable of the Captives were ten masculine Women, who, habited in Mens Cloaths, had done extraordinary Service to the *Gothick* General; these few being all that survived of the *Amazonian* Race, who fought against the *Romans*; and in the Head

of

of every Nation, was carry'd the Name of the Country to which they belong'd.

Amid'st this numerous train of Prisoners, *Tetricus* made a peculiar Figure; he was habited *A-la-mode de France*, where he had been Emperor, in a Scarlet Cloak, under which he wore a light Gold-coloured Coat, and a pair of French Breeches; with him was his Son, whom *Tetricus* had declared Emperor in *France*. After him followed *Zenobia*, deck'd to the greatest advantage, but loaden with her Golden Chains, whose weight was supported by her Attendants. The Crown of every conquer'd City, distinguish'd by an eminent Inscription, was carried before every Nation. After them followed the People of *Rome*, the Banners of the several Colleges, and the Ensigns of every Regiment, with the Cuirassiers, followed by the rest of the Army. And after these the Senators march'd (but not so brisk and merry as otherwise they would have been on such a Solemnity, because *Tetricus*, who was a Member of that August Body, was led a Captive in the Triumph.) It was late e're the

K 2

Cavalcade

Cavalcade reach'd the Capitol, but Night before the Emperor return'd to the Palace.

On the following Days the common People were solaced with the sight of Stage-plays, Horse-races, Huntings, the Duels of the Gladiators, and mock Sea-fights. And among other the Pleasantries of that merry time, it is not to be forgotten, that *Aurelian*, before he made his Expedition into the *East*, promised the *Romans*, that if he return'd a Conqueror, he would give a Crown of two Pound weight to every Citizen, which they expected would be of no worse Metal than Gold : But the Emperor being neither able nor willing, presented each of them with a fine Wheaten Loaf in shape of a Crown, and of the same weight, and one of these he bestowed on every Commoner, every year, as long as he liv'd.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXX.

WHEN this Ceremony was over, *Aurelian* gave both *Tetricus* and *Zenobia* their Lives, constituting *Tetricus* (a) Corrector of *Lucania*, (*Trebellius Pollio* says, of all *Italy*,) and settling *Zenobia* at *Rome*, where she liv'd in much Plenty and Honour to a great Age, maintaining the Port of a *Roman* Matron, by the Estate which the Emperor possess'd her of in *Tivoli*, not far from the Emperor *Adrian's* Palace, and the Place which is called *Conchæ* (or *Concæ* ;) and so well she behav'd her self in her new Habitation, that the Place of her Residence was called *Zenobia*, from the illustrious Inhabitant.

(a) The Correctors of any part of a Roman Province were reckon'd in Honour equal to the Men of Consular Dignity. There were two Correctors of *Italy* (as the *Notitia* says) the one of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, the other of *Lucania*, and the *Bruttii* ; the Correctors being reckon'd among the Friends of the Emperor, among the *Viri Clarissimi*, and *Spellabiles*, and set to stand on a level with the Presidents of Provinces.

Guther de Offic. Dom. Aug. l. 1. c. 7. p. 25, 26. & p. 237.

Conf. del
Ré de l'An-
fichit à Ti-
burtine,
par. 2. c. 5.

The precise Situation of this *Zenobia* (the *Villa* of this excellent Princess) is to this day under dispute : *Fulvio Cardoli* says, that the Ruines of the *Villa Zenobia* are to be seen in that Place that is called *Colle di Santo Stephano*, which is situate near the Palace of *Adrian*. But *Del Ré* avers, that *Concbæ* is near the Lake *Della Solforata*, call'd the Baths ; that the Plain is to this day called the *Plain of Conche* ; and, that the noble Marbles to be seen there, are a demonstration that he was not mistaken in the Situation. The Baths being built (says the learned *Andrea Bacci*) by *Agrippa*, for the use of such as would frequent them ; that three hundred years after their first Foundation, the Place was deputed for the Habitation of *Zenobia* ; and, that the Cardinal *Hyppolito* of *Ferrara* found there a Jewel of Gold, an Antique Vessel of Silver, and other Ornaments belonging to the Ladies of those early times, with an Inscription, that in that Place one of the Daughters of *Zenobia* was buried. From all which, viz. from the Name *Conche*, still remaining, from the Antique Fabricks standing thereabouts, and from what

was

was found there, it may be gathered, that the *Villa Zenobia* could not be far off.

Some Authors affirm, that *Zenobia's* Sons, *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, were slain by *Aurelian's* Order, (Greatness is seldom unaccompanied with Jealousie ; and a Rival Prince never thinks his Title secure, till his Competitor is in his Grave ;) but others say, that they tasted of the Emperor's Clemency, and died at *Rome* natural Deaths, the very year in which they were brought thither, *Ann. Chr. 273*, (says *Mezzobarba* ;) while *Vaballathus* having been led in Triumph with his Mother *Zenobia*, spent the remainder of his life in a private station. But whence that learned Man had these Notices, I profess I know not. This we are sure of, that in the Reign of *Constantine the Great*, her Posterity were reckon'd among the Nobility of *Rome*, so says *Trebellius Pollio* expressly : In the Reign of *Valens* the same Family continued in great Reputation, says *Eutropius* : And *St. Jerom* witnesses the same thing for the times of *Honorius*. And Cardinal *Baronius* imagines, that *Zenobius* the

K 4

Bishop

Bishop of *Florence*, St. *Ambrose's* Contemporary, was one of the Descendants of this famous Empress ; but I suppose he built his Conjecture on no other Foundation, but the Likeness of the Names.

Such was the Fate of this illustrious Lady ; such the Destiny of *Palmyra*, the Metropolis of her Empire, under *Aurelian* ; a Catastrophe, if we may credit the Heathen Historian *Zosimus* (who was a great Bigot for Paganism) foretold by Oracles, and confirm'd by more than one sad Omen, which determin'd the period of that short-liv'd Empire.

L. 5. p. 53.

Vid. Append.

C H A P. XXXI.

Aurel. Vit. &c.

A *Urelian* having thus subdued all his Adversaries, and establish'd his own and the Empires Quiet, lived after this in an extraordinary Pomp and Splendor : He was the first of the *Roman* Emperors who habited himself in Cloth of Gold, the first who wore Gems on his

his Cloaths, and in his Shoes, and put on a Diadem, (the Coin in *Oeselius* describing him encircled with a Diadem different from, and more rich than those of his Predecessors :) He valued himself, as the Recoverer of the Empire both in the *East* and *West*, as the Restorer of the World to its desired Peace and Tranquility, and as one who was born a God, and the Lord of the Universe. He was undoubtedly an eminent Prince, though born of mean Parents, comparable to the *Alexanders*, and the *Julius Cæsars* of former Ages, if he had not fully'd the Lustre of his Vertues by his Excessive Cruelties, of which the Carnage at the Sack of *Palmyra* is a severe Instance. And so valuable did he account that Victory, that, to preserve the Memory of it (according to the Practice of the *Roman* Emperors) he added to his Imperial Titles, among many others, that of the *Palmyrenian*, as appears by an old Inscription consecrated to his Honour in the Fifth Year of his Reign, in **Goltzius*, **Thesaur.* (i. e. the last, says *Petavius* and *Tristan*, *p. 274.* though the old † Coins (and their Authority is to me unquestionable) expressly

Deus & Dominus Natus, on the reverse of one of his Coins in *Mezzobarba*, p. 407.

† Ibid.

presly mention the Sixth Year of his Reign ; and with them agrees the
 || Pag. 637. || *Chronicon*, commonly call'd the *Alexandrian*,) which is worth the preserving, because in very few Inscriptions the mention of *Palmyra* occurs :

MAGNO AUGUSTO PRINCIPI
 MAX. IMP. FORTISSIMO, CON-
 SERVATORI ORBIS, L. DOMITIO
 AURELIANO P. F. PONT. MAX.
 TRIB. POT. V. P. P. COS. III.
 PROCOS. GOTH. MAX. PALMYR.
 MAX. GER. MAX.
 ORDO BRIXIANORUM.

|| Or, To the || *To the Great and August, the most Illustrious of Princes, the Bravest of Emperors, the Preserver of the World, Lucius Domitius Aurelianus, Pious and Happy, the Chief Priest, in the Fifth Year of his Tribunitian Power, the Father of his Country, Consul the Third time, Proconsul, the most Glorious Conqueror of the Goths, the Palmyrenians and Germans,*

The Brescians dedicate this Inscription.

His

His Cruelty was the cause of his Death ; for his Secretary *Eros* (or *Mnestheus*, as *Vopiscus* calls him) having been threatned by *Aurelian*, and fearing his fierce Temper, thought it adviseable to prevent his own Death, by imbruing his Hands in the Blood of his Master, whom, by the help of his Accomplices in the Treason, and by the Hand of *Mucapores*, he slew, as he was taking the Air, attended with but a thin Guard, while the Camp lay at the *New Castle* (*Cænophrium*) a Mansion between *Heraclea* and *Byzantium*, in the Road, toward *Persia*, against which *Aurelian* was marching his Army, to *Cuspin. Cæs.* revenge himself upon that Nation, for *P. 79.* assisting *Zenobia* in the former War against the *Romans*.

Thus *Aurelian* made his Exit, in the * Seventy fifth Year of his Age ; and * *Chron. Alex. P. 637.* after his Death, was honoured, as the more deserving Princes usually were, with a Deification, as both the Historians and the Coins declare.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXII.

BUT though *Palmyra* was thus ruin'd by the Commands of *Aurelian*, I cannot think it was wholly raz'd, it not being consonant to the Wisdom of that August Government to slight so strong a Garrison upon the Borders; for this would have been the same, as to invite the *Persians* to a new Invasion; but that the Emperor, who gave a particular Order to re-build, beautify and endow the noble Temple of the *Sun*, that had been plunder'd and destroyed by the insolent Soldiers, did also take care, that the City should be put in a posture of defence, so as it might obstruct the Irruptions of the Enemy, and that to that end he constituted *Cerronius Bassus* the Governor of that Province; though I doubt not, but it lost the Privileges of a *Roman Colony*, of a *Metropolis*, and in all probability of a *Free City*, and was only left in the condition of a Garrison, or *Præsidium*. For as it was usual to advance a *Præsidium*, or Fort, to the Honour

Honour of a City, as *Bosra* in *Arabia* was promoted by the Emperor *Severus*; so, on the contrary, a City often lost its Franchises, when it turn'd Rebel to the Emperor. In this condition I suppose it to have been, when *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian* wore the Imperial Purple, *Hierocles* at that time being the Præfect of the Province, as appears by the only Latin Inscription that hath been as yet found at *Palmyra*; the Pillar being erected to the Honour of the above-named Emperors, and of *Constantius* and *Galerius Maximianus* the Cæsars, who had most happily founded *Castra*. Vid. Appendix.

Now, that we may know when *Castra* was founded, it will be necessary to consider the State of the Empire at that time. *Dioclesian* having been opposed by many Competitors, was particularly rival'd by *Achilleus* in *Egypt*; against him therefore he march'd in Person, besieged him in *Alexandria*, and at last slew him. After this, he went into *Mesopotamia*, and there making a halt, sent *Galerius*, *Ann. Chr. 296*, against *Narses* King of *Persia*. *Galerius* rashly engaging the *Persians*, between *Callinicus* and *Carrae*, Eutrop. brev. Idat. Chron.

Carraë, with a very small Force, was routed, and beaten back to the Camp of *Dioclesian*; who, when he met him, treated him with so much scorn, that he made him run in his Purple Robe some Miles by his Chariot-side, like a Foot-man, before he vouchsafed to speak to him. But in a little time after this, *Ann. Chr. 297*, upon *Galerius* his important Solicitations, he furnish'd him with Recruits from *Illyricum* and *Mæsia*, and commanded him to retrieve the Honour he had lost in the first Engagement, and accordingly he behav'd himself with so much Bravery in the second Battle (in which with 25000 Men he broke into the Enemies Camp) that he routed the *Persians*, beat them out of *Armenia Major*, where they had posted themselves, took the Tents and Baggage of *Narses*, and a great Booty, made his Wives, his Sisters, and Children, (his Daughters, says *Rufus Festus*,) with a great part of the *Persian* Nobility, Prisoners, drove the King to fly for shelter to the remotest Solitudes of his Dominions, and acquitted the *Romans* from the ignominy of the Captivity of *Valerian*.

Narses

Narses being reduc'd to so great extremity by this last Blow, that had almost determin'd the period of his Empire, chose *Appharban*, one of the most trusty and most beloved of his Courtiers (his *Præfectus Prætorio*, as the Historian, using the Style of his own Country, calls him) his Chief Minister, a Man of Address, and happy Application, to be his Ambassador to *Galerius*; who having obtained leave to deliver his Message, thus accosted this victorious Prince; ' That all Mankind knew, that the two ' Empires of *Rome* and *Persia*, were two ' great Luminaries, which, like the two ' Eyes in the Body, were to receive ' Lustre, Beauty and Help one from the ' other; that it was unnatural, when ' they endeavoured to extinguish each ' other; that to destroy, and bring to ' desolation, could not be reckon'd ' among the illustrious Atchievements, ' but must be accounted an effect of ' Madness and Folly; that only meaner ' Spirits delighted in the Ruine of their ' Enemies; that *Narseus* was not to be ' reckoned a weak Prince, because he ' was unfortunate, but that *Galerius* ' being the greatest of Monarchs, the ' Conquest

*P. Patric.
excerpt.
p. 26.*

' Conquest of *Narseus*, who was in no
 ' one noble Qualification inferior to any
 ' of his Predecessors, was reserv'd by
 ' the Destinies for him. And that he
 ' further had it in his Commission to
 ' assure him, That though his Master
 ' had a just Title to his Dominions, yet
 ' he threw himself upon the Mercy and
 ' Clemency of the *Romans*; that he
 ' would not offer any Terms to *Gale-*
 ' *rius*, but would be content with what
 ' ever Articles he would please to allow
 ' him, desiring him to return him his
 ' Wives and his Children; that this
 ' Humanity would entitle him to a
 ' nobler Conquest, than his victorious
 ' Arms; and, that his generous Usage
 ' of his Family already had been such,
 ' that he profess'd his inability to pay
 ' him his Acknowledgments as he de-
 ' served. — (For the Kings Wives
 and Children had been treated with all
 sort of handsom Usage; and the Nobility
 who had been made Prisoners of
 War, except their restraint, found no
 difference between their Captivity and
 Freedom, between the Enemies Camp
 and their own Palaces; that not only
 no Insults were made on their Persons,
 and

no Injuries offered them, but their En-
 tertainment was liberal, and suited to their
 Quality.) To this the *Persian* Embassa-
 dor subjoin'd, ' That the State of Man-
 ' kind was very mutable, and subject to
 ' great Alterations,

Upon this *Galerius* seem'd to be in a
 heat, and answer'd, ' That it was not
 well done of the *Persians*, to desire their
 ' Adversaries to consider the Instability of
 ' Humane Affairs; because, whenever
 ' they were bless'd with Success, them-
 ' selves were the most insolent of Con-
 ' querors, and added new Afflictions, by
 ' their opprobrious Usage to those who
 ' who were before most heavily oppress'd:
 ' putting them in mind of their inhu-
 ' mane Carriage toward the unfortunate
 ' Emperor *Valerian*, to whom they shew'd
 ' neither Justice nor Moderation; for
 ' after you had circumvented him, and
 ' made him your Prisoner, you kept him
 ' in Chains, till he had languisht out many
 ' years in durance, and without any re-
 ' gard to his extreme Age, or his Sacred
 ' Character, you us'd him with scorn,
 ' and at last put him to a cruel and disho-
 ' nourable Death: And whereas the Rage
 ' of the most violent and wicked Men
 L. ' uses

' uses to be pleas'd, when their Ad-
 ' versaries are dead, your Malice out-
 ' liv'd the Object of it ; and though his
 ' Body was mortal, you resolv'd to treat
 ' it with a Tyranny that endeavour'd to
 ' make it self immortal ; for having
 ' fle'd that great Prince alive, you salted
 ' and preserv'd his Skin, as a lasting Me-
 ' morial of your Treachery, and insa-
 ' triable Cruelty : This last thing, he as-
 ' sur'd the Embassador he mention'd, not
 ' that he resolv'd to follow so ignomi-
 ' nious a President, but to convince the
 ' *Persians* that they could not have any
 ' Pretensions to that Humane Usage
 ' which they petition'd for ; and that he
 ' was satisfi'd, that their Argument from
 ' the Inconstancy of Humane Affairs,
 ' never made any impression on their
 ' Minds in the days of their Prosperity ;
 ' while he was resolv'd to tread in the steps
 ' and to imitate the nobler Practices of
 ' his Predecessors, who were accusom'd
 ' to suppress the Stubborn and Obstinate,
 ' but to comfort and support the Peni-
 ' tent. — And having thus spoken, he
 ' commanded the Embassador to return to
 ' his Master, and to represent to him the
 ' Clemency of the *Romans*, of whose Cou-
 rage

rage he had lately met with an unques-
 tionable Demonstration, bidding him to
 expect in a short time the return of the
 Prisoners, according to his Desires.

Having dismiss'd the *Persian* Embas-
 sador, the Triumphant *Galerius* re-
 turn'd into *Mesopotamia* to *Dioclesian*,
 cover'd with Lawrels, and the Trophies
 of an entire Victory, and was received
 with the testimonies of the greatest Ho-
 nour, as he justly deserv'd. At *Nisibis*,
Galerius met the Emperor, without
 whose Consent himself, being only *Cæsar*
 at that time, could not confirm a Peace,
 and having made *Dioclesian* acquainted
 with the Particulars, consulted with him
 what Articles they should propose to the
Persian Monarch. When they had ad-
 justed the Affair, they sent *Sicorius Pro-*
bus, the Emperor's Secretary, into *Per-*
sia, with the Terms of Agreement. The
 King treated the Embassador with all Ci-
 vility ; but, pretending some hinderance
 or other, carried him with him from
 place to place, till he came to *Aspradis*,
 a River of *Media*, where the scattered
 remains of his routed Army, having ral-
 lyed, and embody'd themselves, pitch'd
 their Tents ; there he granted the Em-
 bassador

P. Patric.
Excerpt.
 p. 29. 30.

ambassador all the Demands of his Master the Emperor, except that the Place of Meeting should be *Nisibis*: Upon which the *Persian* Monarch's Wife and Children were restored him, and the Captive Nobility had their Liberty.

At this time *Castra* was founded by *Dioclesian*, says * *Ammianus Marcellinus*, (and † *Johannes Malela*,) which he calls *Cercusum*; *Malela*, *Circisium*; but the Subscriptions of the *Chalcedon* Council, *Castro-Circon*, by a complication of both Names. For the Irruptions of the *Persians* into the *Roman* Territories on the side of the *Euphrates* were so destructive to those Provinces, that the || Emperors saw it very necessary to build several Cities and Castles upon the Banks of that River, to secure their Borders, particularly in that large and barren Desert that lies between *Euphratesia* and the *Persian* Limits; in that Solitude *Dioclesian* erected three Castles built of unbak'd Bricks, of which number *Mambri* was one, which was situate five miles below *Zenobia*; but *Circusum* stood three days Journey lower than *Zenobia*, and as far from *Palmyra*, being the last and remotest Castle that the *Romans* had on their Confines, a little below

* Lib. 23.
cap. 5.
† Par. 2.
p. 17.

|| *Procop.*
Persic. l. 2.
c. 5. p. 97.
de Edifi-
cat. l. 2. c. 3.
p. 42.

low *Thapsacus*; it was built very neat, and very strong, on the confluence of the *Euphrates*, and the *Abora* (or *Chaborras*, as it is called in *Ptolemy*) two noble Rivers, which with the Walls of the City, being situated on the farther side of the *Euphrates*, in that very Angle which the two Rivers make when they meet: Besides the Ramparts of the Castle, it was defended by a long Wall, which extended it self for some miles on the sides of both the Rivers, and was built in the figure of a Triangle. In times past it was a mean place, and not tenable; but *Dioclesian* fenced it with high Walls and Towers, when in the Confines of the *Barbarians* he fix'd the Limits of the *Roman* Empire, lest the *Persians* should by that Pass invade *Syria*, as they had in times past often done, to the great detriment of the Provinces, particularly under * *Gallienus*, when they march'd their Army over this Ford, and sack'd and burnt *Antioch*. In † the Reign of *Julian the Apostate* it was garrison'd with 6000 Men: and in the 13th. Year of || *Justinian*, when *Chosroes* brought his Forces thither, with a design that way to invade the Empire, he durst not attempt

L 3

it.

* *Ammian.*
ubi supr.
† *Malel.*
Par. 2. p. 17.

|| *Procop.*
ubi supr.

it. After which time, how long it continued in the hands of the Emperors of the *East*, I know not. By all which it appears, that *Castra* was founded *Anno Christi* 27⁸. and that at that time *Hiercles* was Governor of *Palmyra*.

C H A P. XXXIII.

IN the Reign of *Honorius*, *Palmyra* continued a *Roman Garrison*, the Town being then under the Inspection of the *Dux Phœniciaë*, as the *Notitie*, collected probably in that Emperor's Reign, affirm; commanded by a Colonel, or *Præfect* of the first *Illyrian Legion*, which was left there in Garrison. And in this state it was when *Stephen* the Grammarian of *Constantinople* publish'd his Work concerning the Cities; for he calls it expressly a *Castle of Syria* (*Φρούριον τῆς Συρίας*;) as *Hermolaus* his Epitomator, who dedicated his Breviate to the Emperor *Justinian* informs us. But though the Civil Privileges of the City

City were infring'd, it retain'd the Honour of an Episcopal See; this fell not under the cognizance of the *Pagan Emperors*, and for that reason was not fortified; the Church being careful to preserve her Rights, when the City honour'd with the Episcopal Jurisdiction, had lost her's.

Justinian having determin'd, in the First Year of his Reign, *Ann. Chr.* 527. to make War upon the *Persians*, resolv'd to re-build *Palmyra*, says *Procopius*, who thus describes it: That there was a City of *Phœnicia*, near Mount *Libanus*, called *Palmyra*, built of old in a Country that had no Neighbours but such as were at a great distance, but most commodiously situated to observe the movements of the *Saracens*, the Enemies of the *Romans*, having been built on purpose to prevent the Irruptions of those *Barbarians* into the *Roman Territories*. This City having been for a long time deserted, *Justinian* strengthened with extraordinary Fortifications, bringing Water to the Place for the support of a strong Garrison which he fix'd there. (And to *Justinian* I am enclined to attribute the building the Castle of *Palmyra*,

Procop. de Edific. l. 2. c. 11. p. 50. & l. 5. c. 1. p. 95.

Vid. Journal p. 84, 85, 103.

rather than to a Prince of the *Druses*, who never, that we read of, enlarged their Territories as far as *Tadmur*; as also, that noble Aqueduct seems to be of his Foundation, which runs underground in a direct passage five miles, and is cover'd all the way with an Arch of bastard-Marble, and a Path on both sides the Chancel, large enough for two Persons to walk a-breast in, with Ventiducts at every twenty yards distance, being built for the supply of the Garrison with Water.) This was done (says

* *Chronogr.* * *Theophanes* p. 148.

in the First Year of *Justinian*, after the Death of his Uncle *Justin*, the Emperor having given Commiſſion to *Patricius* the *Armenian*, the Governor of the *East*, to see the Work done effectually, having furnish'd him with Money to that purpose, commanding also the Governor of the *East* to make that Place the Seat of his constant Residence, and to preserve the Churches from the Sacrilegious *Saracens*.

Procop. Bel. Pers. l. 2. c. 1. p. 28.

Eight Years after this, when *Belisarius* had reduced *Italy* under the Obedience of the Emperor, *Ann. Chr. 535*, *Chosroes* King of *Persia* concerted his Affairs with *Alamundarus* one of the *Arabian* Princes, that

that he should invade *Arethas* another of the *Saracen* Kings, but in the *Roman* Interest, upon the pretext, that *Arethas* detain'd from him a little Region called *Strata*, that lies to the South of the City *Palmyra*, but barren of all things being burnt with the fervent Sun, so that it produces neither Trees nor Fruits, and is destin'd only to the feeding of a few Cattle. Whereupon *Chosroes* made an ^{Id. c. 5.} Inroad into the *Roman* Territories, ^{p. 97.} march'd his Army three days by the Banks of the River *Euphrates*, till he came to *Zenobia*, the Foundation of the Queen of *Palmyrene*; but finding the Region uninhabited, and destitute of all Necessaries, the City also refusing to surrender, when required to do so, he retired to *Sura*, another City upon the *Euphrates*.

C H A P. XXXIV.

A Bout a hundred Years after the repairing of *Palmyra* by *Justinian*, it pleased God to permit *Mahomet*, an obscure *Arah*, to scourge the Eastern Churches for their Heresies, and their loose

loose Manners ; and to lay the Foundations of an Empire, which, with the Religion call'd *Mahometan*, hath prevail'd over a great part of the known World, and in a very few years after the first appearance of that false Prophet, establish't its Jurisdiction in *Tadmur*, where it prevails to this day.

Elmacin.
I. I. c. I.

In the Year of Christ, 623. the Second of the *Hegira*, *Chosroes* the Second, the King of *Persia*, commanded all the Churches in *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* to be destroy'd, carrying away with him all the Gold and Silver, with all the Ornaments of those Holy Places, even to the very Marble, into his own Country. It is probable, that *Tadmur* was not exempt from this dreadful Persecution : But whatever its Fate was under *Chosroes*, it is unquestionable, that a few years afterwards it fell into the Hands of the *Mahometans*, who, *Anno Christi* 638. *Hegiræ* 16, having taken the Capital City of the *Persians*, and routed *Izdigerdes* their last King, and seiz'd his Empire (the *Constantinopolitan* Princes not concerning themselves, as they ought, to prevent these sudden and large Conquests) may be presumed to have made

Palmyra

Palmyra their own. After which time, I believe, the Fortifications were permitted to run to decay, it being no longer a Frontier, since *Persia* was in their hands on one side of it, and *Arabia* on the other : And then also, I conjecture, it ceas'd to be a Mart, the *Mahometans* being in constant Hostility with the Christians ; so that the Caravans not being able to travel safely, the Trade with the *Persian* Gulph was diverted and lost ; of which beneficial Commerce the City being deprived, and situate in a desert Country, soon fell into Poverty and Ruine.

In the Year 659, the 39th. of the *Elmac. I. I.*
Mahometan Computation, when *Muavias* ^{c. 5.}
the Son of *Abusofianus*, with his Army of *Syrians*, march'd against *Alis* the Fifth of *Mahomet's* Successors, he sent *Dabacus* with 3000 Men to plunder *Iraca*, after which they fell into the Province of *Higjaza*, and having murder'd all the *Arabs* they met with, loaded themselves with their Spoiles. Whereupon *Alis* sent against him his General *Hagjar* the Son of *Adis*, with 4000 Men, who followed them as far as *Tadmur* within the District

District of *Emesa* (for so it was reckon'd at that time) where they had a sharp Engagement, in which *Dabacus* was routed. And by this it is very plain, that *Tadmur* came very early into the hands of the Successors of *Mahomet*.

Id. l. 1. c. 21. Anno Christi 746, of the *Hegira* 127, the People of *Emesa*, at that time the Metropolis of the Country, rebell'd against *Merwan* the Caliph, who came against the Town with a strong Force, and besieged it : Whereupon the Inhabitants supplicated his Pardon, promised Obedience, and open'd their Gates. But when the Caliph had entred the City in the Head of 300 Men, the Citizens betook themselves to their Arms, and slew all the Soldiers, *Merwan* himself hardly escaping through the Gate that leads to *Tadmur*, (the old Roman Road lay from *Emesa* to *Apamea*, and thence to *Palmyra*, but the direct Road lay through the Desert, without touching at *Apamea* ;) and when *Suleiman* the Son of *Hisjam*, being created Caliph, in opposition to *Merwan*, by the Men of *Basra*, was overthrown in Battle, he retired, first to *Emesa*, which he fortified ;
but

but being a second time beaten, he fled to *Tadmur*, leaving his Brother *Saidus* his Lieutenant in *Emesa*. From which Passages it appears to me credible, that *Tadmur* was then a Place of little Trade or Interest, but a Sanctuary for the Unfortunate, for Banditti, and Free-booters, who fled thither, and found a secure retreat, being protected by the advantageous Situation of the Town, which for several Days Journey was on every side surrounded with wild and uninhabited Solitudes.

And if I might be allowed a bold Conjecture, how the River that ran by *Palmyra*, in *Ptolemy's* time, and which *Marius Niger* says emptied it self into the *Euphrates*, happen'd so to be lost, that now there remain no footsteps of it ; I would affirm, that it was buried in *Elmacin*, that terrible Earthquake that happen'd l. 2. c. 11. in those Countries, Anno Christi 859, of the *Hegira* 245, which ruin'd many a noble City, threw down the Palace at *Bagdat*, did great damage to *Carræ*, *Emesa*, *Damascus*, *Edeffa*, *Laodicea*, and all along the Coast of *Syria* : for at this time, the Arabick Historian avers, that a River vanish'd (nor is it unusual in such
most

most violent Concussions) being swallowed up of the Earth, that no Man ever could discover what new Channel it had found under ground. At this time, 'tis highly probable, *Tadmur* did not escape, when all the neighbouring Cities were harraßt, and then the River might be absorpt. Nor does *Justinian's* bringing Water to *Tadmur*, for the service of his Garrison, contradict this Opinion, because a River may be for other uses, and yet not fit for Drink, many other of the Springs in those Countries being brackish and sulphurous.

Itiner. p. 57,
58.

About the Year of Christ 1172, *Benjamin Tudelensis* the Jew, among other Parts of the East which he visited in his Travels, touch'd at *Tadmur*, and he informs us (though he is mistaken in the exact distances of Places) that from *Baalbeck* (or *Baalath*) built by *Solomon* in the Valley of *Libanus*, to *Tadmur* in the Desert, was four Days Journey; that *Solomon* built it of large Stones, and fenced it with a strong Wall; that it was built in a Desert far from any Inhabitants; and that in his time there were in the City 2000 stout Jews, who waged War with the Christians, and with the

Arabs

Arabs the Subjects of Sultan *Noraldin*, but were ready to assist their Neighbours the *Ishmaelites*. From which Passage it appears, that in *Benjamin's* time, the Eastern Jews, a Race of known Wanderers, had nested in *Tadmur*, deserted probably by the *Arabs*, and that they lived by Rapine and Inroads.

When the *Caliphs* of *Babylon* began to lose their Empire, I question not but *Tadmur* became subject to the *Mamelukes*; and upon the fall of their Empire, to the *Grand Signior*, under whose Jurisdiction they now live, though govern'd by a Prince of their own, and by the Usage of our *English* Merchants, when *Melham* was their *Emir*, it is put past all doubt that they have not forgotten, to this day, the Custom of their Ancestors, of robbing all that fall into their hands; for which Rapines, and their other ill management, their *Emirs* are frequently deposed, and sometimes strangled by the *Ottoman Port*; so *Melham*, who robb'd the *English* Merchants, was in some time after surpriz'd by the *Bassa* of *Aleppo*, and put to death. *Hassine*, his Successor, was, Anno 1693, deposed, and one *Dor* substituted the *Emir* of those *Arabs*.

Thus

Thus I have, according to the best of my Understanding, given the History of *Palmyra*, from its first Foundation, to the present Age : And by this Account we may learn, that Cities, as well as their Inhabitants, have their Infancy and Youth, their Riper Years, and their Decrepit Days ; that nothing can resist the Insults of Time, and the Barbarity of Ungovernable Conquerors ; and that it is impossible to erect a Monument to our Memory, that shall be lasting, but a noble Series of Vertuous and Brave Actions, that they only rescue from Oblivion, and give Immortality, when Marbles shall Moulder into Dust, and the World it self shall be no more.

F I N I S.

THE
APPENDIX:

OR,
Critical Observations

Upon the *Names* of
Palmyra and *Tadmur* ;

AND THE
INHABITANTS,
Their Offices and Religion.

Together with an Account of
Vaballathus and *Longinus* :

AND
A Commentary on the *Inscriptions*.

Inscriptiones Palmyrenæ.

I.

Sepulchralia.

I.

1. TO MNHMEION TOY TAΦEΩ-
 NOCEKTICEN EZ IΔIΩN CEPTIMIOC
 OΔAINAΘOC O ΛAMΠPOTATOC
 CTNKANT[IKOC] AIPANOTY OTA-
 BALLAΘOT TOY HACΩPOY AY-
 TΩTE KAI TIOIC AYTOY KAI TIΩ-
 NOIC EIC TO ΠAN-TEΛEC AIΩNION
 TElMHN.

II.

2. MAPΘEIN AΛEΞANΔPOY TOY
 KATADHTOY OTA BALLAΘOT TOY
 CYMΩNOT COPAIXOC AIPANOTY
 ANHP AYTHC MNHMHC ENEKEN
 MHNEI AYCTPΩ TOY 47 ETOTC.

M 2

III. TO

III.

3. ΤΟ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΕΚΤΙΣΑΝ
ΕΚΑΒΗΛΕΟ ΜΑΝΝΑΙΟΣ ΣΟΧΑΓΙΟ
ΜΑΛΧΟΣ ΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΘΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΜΑΝΝΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΑΒΗΛΟΥ
ΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΟΙΣ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΥ ΜΗ-
ΝΟΣ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ.

IV.

4. ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ ΓΕΡΑΣ
ΩΚΟΔΟΜΗΣΕΝ ΓΙΧΟΣ ΜΟΚΙΜΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΛΚΙΑΔΙΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑ
..... ΟΥ ΕΙΣΤΕ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ
ΥΙΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΤΟΝΟΥΣ ΕΤΟΥΣ
ΔΙΤ ΜΗΝΕΙ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΩ.

II.

Elogia Honoraria.

I.

Publica ex decreto Senatûs.

5. Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΙ-
ΛΑΜΕΝΑ ΠΑΝΟΥ ΜΟΚΙΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΑΙΡΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΘΘΑ ΚΑΙ
ΑΙΡΑΝΗΝ

ΑΙΡΑΝΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ
ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΑΣ
Κ[ΑΙ] ΠΑΝΤΙ ΤΡΟΠΩ [ΕΥ]ΣΕΙΜΩΣ
ΑΡΕΣΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΗ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑ-
ΤΡΙΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ
ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΥ Α ΜΗΝΟΣ ΞΑΝΔΙ-
ΚΟΥ.

II.

6. Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ
ΒΑΡΕΙΧΕΙΝ ΑΜΡΙΣΑΜΣΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΙΑΡΙΒΩΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΚΙΜΟΝ
ΥΙΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙ-
ΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΑΣ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ...

III.

7. Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ
ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΝ
ΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΖΑΒΔΙΑΝ ΔΙΣΜΑΛ-
ΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΑССΟΥΜΟΥ ΣΤΡΑ-
ΤΗΓΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΕΝ ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ ΘΕΟΥ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΗΡΕΤΗΣΑΝ-
ΤΑ ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ ΔΙΗΝΕΚΕΙ ΡΟΥ-
ΤΙΛΛΙΟΥ ΚΡΙΣΠΕΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΓΗ-
ΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΔΗΜΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ
ΟΥΗΞΙΛΛΑΤΙΟCΙΝ ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟ-
ΜΗΣΑΝΤΑΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΝΙCΩΝΑ
ΦΕΙΔΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ
ΚΑΛΩC ΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΥCΑΜΕΝΟΝ ΩC

ΔΙΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΘΕΝΤΑ
ΥΠΟ ΘΕΟΥ ΙΑΡΙΒΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟ
ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΞΟΧΩΤΑ-
ΤΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΠΡΑΙ-
ΤΩΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ
ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΝ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΧΑ-
ΡΙΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΝΦ.

IV.

8. Η ΒΟΥΛ[Η ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗ]ΜΟΣ
ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΝ
ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΔΟΥ-
ΚΗΝ[ΑΡΙΟΝ] ΕΟΔΟΤΗΝ ΤΗΣ
ΜΗΤ[ΟΚΟΛΩ] ΝΕΙΛΑΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΚΟ-
ΚΟΜΙΣΑ[ΝΤΑ Τ]ΑΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΙΑΣ
ΕΞ ΙΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΘΕΝΤΑ
ΥΠΟ ΙΩΝ ΑΡΧΕΜΠΟΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΜ-
ΠΡΩΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ Α-
ΔΟΡΑΜΟΜΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΥ-
ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝΕΙΛΑΣ ΚΑΙ
ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΟΙΚΟΘΕΝ ΑΝΑΛΩΣΑΝΤΑ
ΚΑΙ ΑΡΕΣΑΝΤΑ ΤΗΤΕ ΑΥΤΗ ΒΟΥ-
ΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΔΗΜΩ ΚΑΙ ΝΥΝΕΙ ΔΑΜ-
ΠΡΩΣ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΑΡΧΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ
ΔΙΟΣ ΒΗΛΟΥ ΙΕ[Ρ]ΩΝ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ
ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΕΤ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΩ.

II. Elogia

II.

Elogia Honoraria privata.

I.

9. ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ ΖΕΒΕΙΔΑΝ ΜΟ-
ΚΙΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΖΕΒΕΙΔΟΥ ΑΣΘΕΡΟ-
ΒΑΙΔΑΙΟΙ ΣΥΝ Α[Υ]ΤΩ ΚΑΤΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΙΣ
ΟΛΟΓΕΣΙΑΔΑ ΕΝΠΟΡΙΑΝ ΕΣΤΗΣΑΝ ΑΡΕ-
ΣΑΝΤΑ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΩ
ΤΟΥ ΗΝΦ ΕΤΟΥΣ

II.

10. ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΝ ΟΥΡΩΔΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΡΑ-
ΤΙΣΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΚΗ-
ΝΑΡΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ (α) ΑΡΘΑΠΕΤΗΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ (β) ΕΛΑΜΗΣ ΚΑΨΣΙΑΝΟΥ
ΤΟΥ Μ[Ε]ΛΕΝΑΙΟΥ ΠΠΕΥΣ (γ) ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
ΤΟΝ (δ) ΦΙΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ
ΗΟΦ . . ΜΗΝΕΙ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΩ.

III.

11. ΣΕΒΤΙΜ[ΙΟΝ ΟΥΡΩΔΗΝ] ΤΟΝ
ΚΡΑ[ΤΙΣΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟ]ΠΟΝ ΣΕΒΑΣ[ΤΟΥ
ΔΟΥΚ]ΗΝΑΡΙΟΝ ΚΑ[Ι ΑΡΘΑΠΕ]ΤΗΝ

(α) In another Copy, taken by Mr. Goodyear, ΑΡ . . ΑΠΗΤΗΝ :
in a third, ΑΡΑΠΗΤΗΝ.

(β) ΚΑΝΩΗΣ ΚΑΨΣΙΑΝΟΙ ΤΟΥ Κ . . ΛΕΝΑΙΟΥ : in a third, ΤΟΥ
ΙΟΥΜΑΣΟΥ. (γ) ΡΟΥΜΑΩΝ. (δ) ΦΙΜΟΝ.

ΙΟΥΔΙΟΣ ΑΥ[ΡΗΛ]ΟΣ Ε[ΑΛΜΗΣ]
 ΠΥΛΙΟΣ Μ[ΕΛΕΝΑΙ]ΟΣ ΜΑΛΩΧΑ
 ΝΑССΟΥΜΟ[Υ] Ο ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΣ
 ΤΟΝ [ΦΙΛΟΝ]· ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΝ
 ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ...[ΜΗ.
 ΝΕΙ Ε]ΑΝΔΙΚΟ.

IV.

12. СЕРТИМОН ΑΙΡΑΝΗΝ ΟΔΑΙ-
 ΝΑΕΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΔΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΝ СΥΝ-
 ΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΝ.

V.

13. ΕΞΑ.....ΝΤΩΝ ΑΥΡΗΛΙ...
 ΡΗΛΙΟΥΔΩΡ·...ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗΣ ΔΕ.....
 ΚΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΩΝ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥ-
 ΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΓΞΦ.

VI.

14... ΥΠΙΛΙΟΝ ΟΥΟΡΩΔΗΝ [СΥΝ-
 ΚΛ]ΗΤΙΚΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΝ
 ΠΑΛΜΥΡΗΝΟΝ ΒΗΔΑ ΚΑΒΟCΑΡCΑ
 ΤΟΝ ΦΙ[ΛΟΝ] ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ Ε-
 ΤΟΥC ΟΦ.

VII.

15. ΜΑΛΕΝΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΝ
 ΙΑΡΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΡΑΛΙΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑ-
 ΤΕΔ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ
 ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙ[Α] ΘΕΟΥ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ Α-
 ΔΙΜΜΑ

ΔΙΜΜΑ ΠΑΡΑCΧΟΤΑ ΞΕΝΟΙC ΤΕ
 ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑ[ΙC.]

ΕΝΗ...Ν ΥΠΗΡΕΤΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΤΗΤ...
ΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑ ΤΟΥ.....
 ΥΠΟ...ΕΚΑΙ.....ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ
 ΤΟΝ....ΔΙΟC....ΝΤΩΓ.....

VIII.

Arsoffæ in Monasterio Maronitarum.

16. + ΕΠΙ ΕΕΡΓΙ ΕΠΙΕΚ°. ΤΞ ΕΥΝ:
 ΓΕΝ ΜΑΡΩΝΙΞ ΤΞ ΧΩΡΕΠΙΕΚ°.

III.

Anathemata.

17. ΔΠ ΥΨΙCΤΩ ΜΕΓΙCΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΗ-
 ΚΟΩ ΒΩΔΑΝΟC ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ
 ΑΙΡΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΟΚΙΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ
 ΜΑΘΘΑ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΤΗΣΟΝ ΑΙΡΕΘΕΙC
 ΕΦΚΑC ΠΗΓΗΣ ΥΠΟ ΙΑΡΙΒΩΛΟΥ
 ΘΕΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΕΩ[ΜΟΝ] ΕΞ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΑΝΕ-
 ΘΗΚΕΝ ΕΤΟΥC ΔΟΥ ΜΗΝΟC ΥΠΕΡ-
 ΒΕΡΕΤΑΙΟΥ Κ.

IV. VOTA.

IV.

V O T A.

Tievæ.

18. ΔΙΙ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΩ ΚΕΡΑΥΝΙΩ ΤΗΡΕΙ
 ΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΤΡΑ. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΣΕΒ. . . . ΤΟΥ
 ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΑΝΓΕΛΟΣ ΑΒΙΛΗΝΟΣ
 ΤΗΣ ΔΕΚΑΠΟΛΕΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΜΑΡΑΝ
 ΩΚΟΔΟΜΗΣΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΙΝΗ . . . ΕΞ
 ΙΔΙΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΕΜΤ ΜΗΝΟΣ
 ΛΩΟΥ.

V.

Imperatorum Memoriae.

19. es Orbis & Propaga-
 tores Generis Humani, D. D. N. N. Dio-
 cletianus ssimi Imp. & Con-
 stantius, & Maximianus Nobb. Cæs.
 Castra feliciter condiderunt.
 ntes Ossiano Hieroclete V. P.
 Præf. Provinciæ D. N. M. O. eorum.

Briadenæ.

ΑΦΙΕΡΩΘΗ ΑΑΙ ΛΙΝΔΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΦ
 ΕΤΟΥΣ
 ΔΙΑ ΜΑΤΕΡΝΟΥ Κ[ΑΙ Π]ΑΠΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ
 ΜΑΙΚΟΥ ΚΝΕΤΜΝ.

— Y — N

Andrenæ.

Andrenæ.

I.

ΙΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΓΩ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΕΠΕ-
 ΤΥΧΑ — ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ ΤΩ ΘΩ
 ΠΡΟΣ — ΕΝΙΚΑ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΑΜΑΡ-
 ΤΩΝ ΜΟΝ.

II.

Ad Portam Australem.

ΑΥΤΗ Η ΠΥΛΗ ΤΑ ΚΥΡ. ΔΙΚΑΙΟΙ
 ΕΙΣΕΛΕΥΕΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ.

III.

Ad Portam Occidentalem.

X
 Θ Μ Γ
 Γ

IV.

ΥΡΙΟΝ
 ΡΟΝ
 ΜΙΧΑΗΛ.

V.

ΙΑΥΤΙ...
 ΑΙΚΑ...

VI.

VI.

.. PIOC TON ΔΥΝΑΜΕ...
 ΗΜΟΝΑΝ ΤΙΔΗΜΠΙ
 ΘΕΘΕ ΙΑΚΟ ΒΤ.

VII.

ΑΥΞΙΤΟΝ.

VIII.

† ΕΥ ΘΕΕΚΙΩΤ.

IX.

ΕΥΙΕ.

X.

ΖΗΗ.

THE

THE APPENDIX.

HAVING finish'd my primary Task, I shall apply my self to some other Considerations of a similar nature ; which I was unwilling to interweave with the thread of the History, that the Discourse might appear uniform, and all of a piece : I have therefore reserved for this Appendix such Critical Observations as I had made upon the Names of the Place, and of the Inhabitants, with
 the

the Honorary Offices which the Men of Eminence bore in the City : To which I have added an Account of their Idolatry ; with a short separate History of Vabalathus and Longinus, two Great Men of Palmyra ; intending to conclude the Dissertations with some Remarks upon the Inscriptions found among the Ruines of this once Illustrious City.

C H A P.

C H A P. I.

Of the Names Tadmur, and Palmyra.

TH E preceding History having given an Account of the *Foundation of Palmyra*, I shall in this Chapter account for the *Names* which were given it, in the Syriac Language *Tadmur*, but in the Greek *Palmyra*, (says *Josephus*.)

And first of *Tadmur*, תַּדְמוֹר בְּפָדָרָר, in the Hebrew, 2 *Chron.* 8.34. Θεοδμωρ ἐν ἐρήμῳ, as the *Septuagint*. Or as the *Alexandrian* Copy, much nearer to the Original, Θεδμωρ. The F. *Harduin* therefore very ineptly, in his Notes on *Pliny*, calls it *Theudemmer* ; and *Josephus* as inartificially, Θεδμωρ. It must be confessed, that St. *Hierom*, in *Ezek.* 47. (and he is followed by Monsieur *Spon*, and others) affirms, that *Thamar* in the Prophet, who is stating the Limits of *Judæa* to the South, is no other than *Tadmur* ; *Hic verò terminus plagæ australis* ;

australis ; h. e. meridianæ, incipit à Thamar, quæ urbs in solitudine est, quam & Solomon miris operibus instruxit, & hodiè Palmyra nuncupatur, Hebræoque sermone Thamar dicitur, quæ in lingua nostrâ Palma sonat : And I was once inclinable to have corrected the Translation of the *Septuagint* from the *Hebrew* ; and instead of what we now read, Καὶ τὸ πρὸς νότον ἐν λίβυ ὑπὸ Οὐμαὶν ἐν Φοινικῶν. ἕως ὕδατος Μυ. εἰμαθ Καδύμ, to have read, Ἀπὸ Οὐμας τὴν ἐν Φοινικῶν. from *Thamar*, the *City of Palm-Trees*, or *Palmyra* : But I have since altered my Opinion, because *Thamar* is expressly said to be the Border of *Judæa* to the South, whereas *Palmyra* lies near directly East from *Jerusalem*, and am apt to believe that *St. Hierom* was deceived by the like signification of the words ; *Tamar* in *Hebrew* (not *Tadmur*) signifying a *Palm-Tree*, while *Palmyra* is not allowed to be of a *Roman*, but *Greek* Original ; and if so, cannot be derived from *Palma*, a pure *Latin* word ; and that the *Septuagint* read the Text aright, *Theman* being toward the South of *Judæa*, *Theman*, says the *Targum* of *Jonathan*, i.e. *Je-*

i.e. *Jericho*, a Town (says *Eusebius de Locis Hebr.*) 15 Miles distant from *Petra* in *Arabia*, and is, in the Old Testament, often put for the whole Countrey South of *Judæa* ; the Φοινικῶν in the *Septuagint* being not far distant from it, as *Strabo* (l. 16. p. 259.) affirms, ' That *Petra* is the Metropolis of *Arabia Nabatæa* ; That the Countrey round it is *Desart*, especially towards *Judæa* ; That it is situate three or four Days Journey from *Jericho*, and five from the *Palmetum*, or *City of Palm-Trees*, as I would render it.

I was also once of the Opinion, that *Palmyra* had its Denomination from the *Palm-Trees*, as *St. Jerom* says expressly, though *Tadmur* be not a word of that signification, (but seems to me to be derived rather from תדמור implying its admirable and stupendous Situation, probably because a fertile Spot of Ground in the midst of a vast Desart.) But because *Josephus* seems to determine it to be of *Greek* Original, I cannot think it derived from Παλμύτης, an *Ægyptian* Deity ; for what had the Gods of *Ægypt* to do near the Banks of *Euphrates* ? nor from Πάλμης, a *King* or *Father* ; but from Πάλμης, which

N signifies

signifies a *Persian Shield*; or *Parma*, as the Latins render it, (*Hesych. Πάλημ, Τέρρον, Glossar. Vet. Τέρρον ἔδω ἀσπίδου Περγουῆς.*) For the *Palmyrenians* were near Neighbours to the *Persians*, while at a great distance from either *Rome* or *Egypt*, and from them with whom they maintain'd a continual Commerce, might receive the Name of their City, which very well agrees to a strong Frontier Town, built for the defence of the Borders; and this exactly quadrates with the Arabick *دلم*

Procop. l. 1.
Pers. c. 17.
p. 49.

Par. 1.
p. 182.
Par. 2.
p. 153.

Damar, Praesidium. And we may as well derive *Palmyrene* from a *Persick* Original, as the neighbouring Province *Osrhoene* (the two Provinces being often confounded, for *Photius Cod.* σξζ. styles *Zenobia Τῶν Οσρωνῶν Βασιλίσ, The Queen of Osrhoene,*) which was without any dispute so denominated from *Ostroes* (or *Chosroes*) the King of that Country, and a Confederate of the *Persians*, who gave his Name to *Edeffa*, and the Territory round it. For I cannot be of the mind of *Malela*, though he seems, by his often mentioning it, to be fond of his Etymology, that it was called *Palmyra*, διὰ τὸ πάλαι μωρεῶν γερῆσαι τῇ

τῇ κώμῳ τῇ Γολιάθ, because it was the Place where *Goliath* received his Fate at the Hands of King *David*; though the Humour of giving Names to Cities or Countreys, from such Fabulous Encounters, hath not been altogether diffus'd; for says *Damascius* (*apud Phod. Cot.* 242.) some affirmed, that his Native City, *Damascus*, was so called from *Ascus*, a Giant whom *Jupiter* there overcame, (ὅτι τὸ δαμῶν τ' Ἀσκόν:) And, I fear, some of our Historians, zealous for the Honour of *Brute*, will be found guilty of the same Crime.

But though I cannot believe the Fiction of *David's* slaying *Goliath* at *Palmyra*, yet it is very probable, that that stout and victorious Prince might have extended his Empire as far as *Palmyra*, when he invaded *Hadad-Ezer* King of *Soba*, (2 Sam. 8. 3. 1 Chron. 18. 3.) the *Euphrates* being the Eastern Limit of *Syria* (*Sobab* (from beyond which River *Hadad-Ezer* brought his Auxiliaries, i. e. from *Mesopotamia*, 2 Sam. 10. 16. there called *Syria* beyond the River,) as *Damascus* was the Western: And *Palmyra* is said, 2 Chron. 8. 3, 4. to be situated in *Hamath Soba*, or *Syria Soba*; and the two Cities of *Arabia the Desert*, *Saba*

Bochart.
Spanhem.
Hist. Job.
or Hyde
Not. in Abr.
Peritzol.
p. 60.

and *Barathena* in *Ptolomy*, seem to be *Soba* and *Berothai*, Cities of the *Sabeans*, mention'd in the Sacred Writings.

Castaldus and *Ortelius* affirm that *Palmyra* is now called *Amegara*; but *Sanfon* says it is called *Faid*, as do *Nicolosius* in his *Hercules Siculus*, and others; whereas it still retains its old Denomination *Tadmur*, as it always did among the *Syrians* and *Arabs*. The old Geographer of *Ravenna* reckons it among the Cities of *Cæle Syria*, (for so I will adventure to correct that Author, *Syria Cilenſis Comagenis*, which *Monsieur Porcheron* reads *Syria Seleucis*, but it should be read *Syria Cele in Comagenis*.) but calls it *Malmiora*, which the Editor says is mistaken for *Palmyra*, and with him I agree. Tho' perhaps *Tamira* in the same Author may be set for *Tadmira* (as *Hepolis* for *Heliopolis*) for that Geographer lived in the 7th Century, when that City having fallen into the Hands of the *Arabs*, had recover'd its ancient *Syriack*, or *Arabick* Name.

I have in the *History* affirm'd, from the Authority of * *Ulpian*, that *Caracalla* made *Palmyra* a Colony *Juris Italici*; but if I might be allowed a Conjecture, I could think, that *Septimius Severus* made

* Lib. 1.
Censibus.

made it a Colony, as he did several other Cities in that Country, *Rhesaina*, *Tyrus*, *Laodicea*, *Nisibis*, and *Singara*, which from his Name were stiled in the Coins *Septimia Rhesaina*, *Colonia Septimia Tyrus*, *Septimia Colonia Laodicea*, *Septimia Colonia Nisibis*, (or as it is always in the Coins, Νῆσιβις,) but that his Son *Caracalla* gave it the Privileges of an *Italian City*, as *Ulpian* affirms; for it seems to me past all doubt, from the frequent use of the Names *Septimius*, and *Septimia*, by the Inhabitants of *Palmyra*, who gave it as a Prænomen to the People of both Sexes, of the best Families and Condition, that the Citizens of *Tadmur* had a very reverend regard for the Emperor *Septimius Severus*; but we want Coins to determine this Question.

In an *Inscription*, about the Year 296. Pag. 99. Journal.
(for I am willing to supply the Date from the former *Inscription*, pag. 98. because they both treat of the same Person) *Tadmur* is called Μῆτηρ πόλεως, as if it were the Mother of other Colonies, says the Editor, (a word that occurs not in any Author) which was a very honourable appellation, the Colonies being obliged τὰ γένε νομιζόμενα Thucyd. l. 1. § 25. p. 15. Ed. δίδου (i. e. πῶς ἢ πατρὸς) to Or. cum Schol.

Honour their Mother City, and to give it the Preference the Law had appointed; but the word should be divided into *Μητρός*, i. e. *Μητρόπολις* and *Κολωνία*, *Palmyra* being both a Metropolis and a Colony, as were several other Cities in *Syria*, as appears from the Coins. *Colonia Damascus Metropolis*. Ἀποχέων μητρογ. κολων. *Sephyrus Metropolis Colonia*. *Tyrus Metropolis Colonia*.

Agel. lib.
16. c. 13.
Harduin.
Antirhet.
p. 37, 52.

Now, though to be a *Roman* Colony, was a great Honour, and entitled the City to great Privileges; yet it must be acknowledged that it left the City deprived of its former unlimited Liberty: for in time past it was govern'd by its own Statutes; but when made a Colony, was under the *Roman* Jurisdiction, paid Submission to their Laws, and Tribute to the Emperors, from which it was before exempt; and if a Frontier Town, as *Palmyra* was, it admitted of a *Roman* Garrison (the First Legion of the *Illyrians* being posted there) with the Liberty reserv'd to the Citizens, that they were to be Listed as *Romans* into their Legions, not as Auxiliaries.

In the *Ecclesiastick Notitia*, *Palmyra* was at first a Metropolitan, as long as it was the Chief City of the Province,

i. e.

i. e. till its Destruction by *Aurelian*. At the Division of the Empire by *Constantine the Great*, it was a Suffragan See under the Archbishop of *Damascus*, who, in the Sixth Act of the Council held at *Chalcedon*, thus subscribes for the Bishops of his Province, Θεόδωρος ἑπίσκοπος τῆς Μητροπόλεως Δαμασκού, ἐν ᾧ ἐρ τῷ ᾧ ἐμὲ διοριλεσάτων ἐπισκόπων Ἰωάννης πόλεως Παλμύρας, &c. From whence also it appears that that Church was Orthodox in those days; and that *Palmyra* was the first of the Suffragans to that Metropolitan; but afterward it became subject to the Metropolitan of *Edeffa*, as appears by the *Notitia* of the Emperor *Leo*; since which time it hath no longer a place in the Ecclesiastical Account, Christianity having been, for some Ages, totally banisht from *Palmyrene*.

Whether the Merchants, who Travell'd from *Syria* to *Seleucia*, and *Babylon*, thro' the Country of the *Arabes Scenitæ*, thro' the *Malii*, and their Desarts, and Ferried over the *Euphrates* near *Anthemusia* in *Mesopotamia*, a City Situate near the river *Aborrhæas*, took *Palmyra* in their way, I cannot determine; nor whether *Alexander the Great* marcht his Army thro' or by that City,

N 4

when

Strab. lib.
16. p. 747.

when having left *Egypt*, and past thro' *Phœnicia* to *Thapsacus*, he carried his Troops over the *Euphrates*; since none of the Writers of the Achievements of that Miraculous Prince take any notice of *Palmyra*; tho' it be to me unquestionable, that *Palmyra* submitted to that irresistible Conqueror, as did many other Cities, of whom the Historians make not any mention.

Geograph.
M.S.

The Situation of the City, as to its Longitude and Latitude, is differently accounted for by the Writers of the Country, the *Arabs* (as the very Learned Dr. *Hyde* informs me) *Ismael Abul-Feda*, the Prince of *Hamah*. i. e. of that part of *Syria*, wherein *Tadmur* was Situate, (who was Born in the Year 672. of the *Mahometan Æra*, and constituted the Lord of the Country in the Year 710. of the same Computation) confesses, that his Country-men, who make it part of *Arabia*, are not agreed, three several Authors placing it in different degrees.

The first fixes it in *Long.* 67. 40. *Lat.* 34. 00.
The second in *Long.* 67. 40. *Lat.* 30. 00.
The third in *Long.* 64. 00. *Lat.* 33. 50.

Tabl. I.
p. 321.

But *Calcaschendi*, another *Arabian* Author, gives this Account out of other Writers,

Writers, as the Excellent Master of the Oriental Languages, Dr. *Hyde* Translates him—"As for the Territory of *Tadmur*—the Author of the Book *Al Tarâph* says, it is Situate between the Two Villages and *Rahba*, and is reckon'd to be in *Arabia*, in the fourth of the Seven Climes: The Author of the Book of Longitudes says, its Longitude is 62 degrees, and its Latitude 34 degrees. The Lord of *Hamath* (i. e. *Abulpheda*) says, it belongs to the Territory of *Hems* (i. e. *Emesa*) on the East-side of it, and that most of its Soil is saltish; that in it there is a sort of soure Plant called *Nagjel*, and also *Olives*. There are likewise very great, and Ancient Ruins, consisting of Pillars, and Rocks, and a Castle with a Wall. The Author of the Book, called, *Al Raud Almîtar* says, that it was Originally an Ancient City, which the Spirits Built for *Solomon*, with extraordinary Fortifications. It was called *Tadmur* from *Tadmur* the Daughter of *Hassân*, whose Sepulchre is there, and *Solomon* did Inhabit it after her. The Author of the Book *Al-Azîzi* saith, that between *Tadmur* and *Damascus* are 59 Miles;

“ Miles; between *Tadmur* and *Rabba*
 “ 102 Miles. The Lord of *Hamath* says,
 “ it is from *Hem's* about three Stations.
 The only difference in the Accounts is
 in this, that the Longitude of *Palmyra* in
 words at length, out of the Book of
 Longitudes, is 62. which in *Abulpheda's*
 Geography is 67. where it is exprest in
 Letters; which must be attributed to
 the Carelessness of the Transcribers.

I was a little surpriz'd, when reading
Al Edrisi (commonly, but wrongly,
 call'd the *Nubian Geographer*) I found
 a *Tademyr* in *Spain*, which comprehend-
 ed the Kingdoms of *Murcia* and *Tarra-*
gon, and was enclined to believe that the
Caliph sent a Colony from the *Syrian*
Tadmur (as well as from the other Cities
 of his vast Dominions) to People *Spain*,
 when he had conquer'd it, who from
 their own Native City gave the Name
 to that part of *Spain*: But my Learned
 and much honoured Friend Dr. *Bernard*,
 has inform'd me, that the *Spanish Tade-*
mir may be derived, as to Name, and
 no otherwise, from the *Syrian Tadmor*,
 or from תדמור *Tadmera*, *Mescella Po-*
puli, from a mixture of several Nations
 inhabiting there; as *Tidal*, in Holy
 Writ, is called the *King of the Nations*;
 and

and *Galilee* stiled *Galilee of the Gentiles*.

The *Arabs* of this Age say, that in
 ancient time *Solomon Ebn el Doud* (or
 the Son of *David*) built a City in that
 Place, which being destroyed, was re-
 edify'd by a strange People; and the
 present Inhabitants pretend to show you
 the top of a Mountain where one of *So-*
lomon's Concubines lies buried, as if that
 Great King had fix'd his Court there, ha-
 ving destin'd it to his Retirement and
 Pleasures, as *Josephus* seems to affirm.

C H A P. II.

Of the Names of the Palmyrenians.

FROM the Names of the City, I shall
 proceed to consider the Names of
 the Inhabitants, and I question not, but
 as their first Language was *Hebrew*, or
Syriack, so the People had *Syriack*, or *He-*
brew Names. This wants no further
 Confirmation, the *Inscriptions* put it
 past all doubt, *Odenathus*, *Airanes*, *Va-*
ballathus, *Mocimus*, *Orodes*, *Zabdas*, *Mat-*
thas, *Jaribolus*, &c. being all pure *Sy-*
riack; and had the Curiosity of our *En-*
glish Travellers directed them to have
 transcribed

transcribed the *Syriack* Inscriptions, as well as the *Greek*, at *Tadmur*; I doubt not, but as we might from them have retrieved the old *Syriack* Alphabet, so we also might have been enabled to correct more than one Mistake either of the Graver, or Transcriber (as I shall unquestionably demonstrate there are such) in the Names of the People of that famous City. This Method, I doubt not, the *Palmyrenians* made use of, that their publick Monuments, as long as they continued, might preserve the knowledge of their ancient Native Language; and I hope some attempt will be made to recover at least the understanding of their Letters: For Monsieur *Petit*'s Specimen, in *Spon's Miscellanies*, is all Dream; and that Learned Man, if he had been in Earnest, would doubtless have given us his Alphabet, and the Inscriptions accordingly reduc'd into the *Hebrew*, or some other known Character. 'Tis true, he says they are the *Phœnician* (probably the same with the old *Syriack*) Letters, (for *Gruter*'s Opinion, that they are *Arabick*, is not to be defended,) but I refer the Reader to *Antony Gallandius*'s Confutation of Mr. *Petit*, in the same *Miscellanies*.

After

After the *Romans* had extended their Empire into the remoter Parts of *Syria*; the Men of *Palmyra*, agreeable to the Practice of the other Nations of the *East*, assumed to themselves a *Præ-Nomen*, the Custom of having Two Names having been taken up by the *Greeks* and *Syrians* about the Times of *Trajan*; and this seems to be confirm'd by the Sepulchral Inscriptions at *Tadmur*, the most ancient of which were erected under *Trajan*, where the Names of *Elabelus*, *Mannæus*, *Soræchus*, *Malchus*, *Vaballathus*, *Gichus*, *Mocimus*, stand alone, without any *Præ-nomina*; but in the Inscriptions of After-times, *Septimius*, *Rupilius*, *Julius Aurelius*, frequently occur, which being *Roman*, were prefix'd to their *Syriack* Names, (as some of them had two *Syriack* Names, the last having probably been givent to those who were adopted into other Families, as *Phanius Mocimus*, qui & *Airanes*, *Julius Aurelius Zenobius*, qui & *Zabdilas*—) the Fore-Name *Septimius* was in very frequent use at *Tadmur*, probably in Honour of *Septimius Severus* the Emperor, their Benefactor: The First of their Emperors was *Septimius Odenathus*; their only

only Empress, *Septimia Zenobia*; their Great Men, *Septimius Orodes*, and *Septimius Airanes*. Now, the Præ-Nomen being either Greek or Roman, the second the proper Syriack Name of the Person, was post-pon'd to that, which was assum'd, *ex. gr. Septimius Zenobius, Longinus Cassinus, Julius Aurelius Zenobius, Alexander Capadetus, Julius Aurelius Ealmes* (if it should not rather be read *Palmes*, for he is said to be a Roman, and a Gentleman of one of their Troops: Now, *Palma* is a known Name among the Romans; *Palma*, the Consul and the Lieutenant-General to *Trajan*, in his *Parthian Expedition*, is very famous, who being of a contrary Faction to *Adrian*, was slain at *Terracina*, by the Order of the Senate.) And for this reason, I cannot agree with the Learned Mr. *Halley*, correcting the Coins of *Vaballathus*, and reading *Airanes* for *Hermeias*; for it's plain, that in those Names the first is Greek, or Latin, the latter Syriack; which also confirms me in my Opinion, that *Vaballathus* was the Son of *Herodes* (or *Herodianus*) and that the Father's Name was *Athenas Herodes*; of which more hereafter.

It is also observable, that the *Palmyrenians*,

*Spart.
Hadr. p.
2, 4.*

renians, like their Neighbours the *Arabs*, with their own Names gave their Pedigree, reckoning up their Ancestors, many times, to their Great-Grand-Father: This the *Saracenic History* puts out of all dispute as to the *Arabs*; and the *Inscriptions*, as to the Inhabitants of *Tadmur*.

Now to shew that the Names are of Syriack or Hebrew Extraction, as the præ-Nomina of Greek or Latin, is an easie Undertaking. *Jaribolus*, or *Jariboleus*, is *Jerubbaal* (*Gideon's Name*;) *Bareiches* is *Barachias*, *Baruchus*, or *Baruchus*, (of which Name were *Baruch* the Prophet *Jeremy's* Scribe; and a Bishop, *Βλεχχου Ἐπισκοπος Βαγίδαν*, and *Borochus* the Judge in *Jamblichus*) *Ouorodes* is *Orodes*, and *Herod*; *Soræchus*, *Saruch*, *Nabar's* Father, Gen. *II.* and in *Jamblichus's* * *Babylonicks*, *Soræchus*, the Son of *Soræchus* the Publican, makes a considerable Figure; *Simon* is purely Hebrew; *Vaballathus* is *Balathus* with the Arabick Præfix; *Bal*, *Belus*, *Bolatbus*, and *Balathus*, the same Name in *Damascius*; *Ballatha* is the Name of a Syrian City, in *Ptolemy*; and *Sanballat* (*i. e.* the Prince *Balathus*) appears, in Holy Writ, the Governor

*Tom. 2.
Mon. Græc.
p. 345.*

* *Apud.
Phot. Cod.
94.*

vernor of *Mesopotamia*, ἐπαρχὸς τῆς
τῆς ποταμῆς, *Nehem.* 2. 9. and *Vabal-*
lathus, in *Vopiscus*, is called *Balbatus*,
for *Ballathus*. *Bolanus* was one of the
Euseb. l. 7.
c. 30. Bishops, who, in the Synod of *Antioch*,
condemn'd *Paulus* of *Samofata*. *Mat-*
thas among the Men, and *Martha* a-
mong the Women, are also *Hebrew*;
Matthas, *Matthat*, *Matthan*, *Matta-*
thas; *Airanes*, *Aarones*; *Jaraius*, *Jair*;
Elabelus is *Elbelus*, or the God *Bel*—
sometimes *Alagbelus*, *Alagabalus*, cor-
ruptly *Heliogabalus*. *Mannæus* is the
Judg. 13. 2. same Name with *Manoah*, or, as the
LXX. *Μανωὴ*, or *Manathab*, *1 Chron.*
1. 40. *Zenobius* was a common Name
among the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*.
* *Eusebius* mentions two Martyrs of
* *L. 8. c. 13.* that Name, who suffer'd in the *Dio-*
clesian Persecution, the one an admi-
rable Physician, the other a Presby-
ter of the Church of *Sidon*. Against
Zenobius of *Emesa*, *Ephremius* the Pa-
Phot. cod.
228. triarch of *Antioch* wrote a Learned
Treatise. And *Zenobius* a Bishop of
Cilicia was Martyr'd in the same Per-
secution, with his Wife, and his Sister
Zenobia, says *Simeon Metaphrastes*; and
the Wife of *Basiliscus* the Emperor was
also call'd *Zenobia*. *Malech*, *Malchus*,
and

and *Malchion* (of which Name was an
Eminent * Presbyter of *Antioch*, who * *Id. l. 7.*
oppos'd *Paulus* of *Samofata* the Heret- *c. 29.*
tical Patriarch of that See) are from
the same Original; as is *Malechus* *Pos-*
dosaces, who was the Prince (or *Phy-*
larchus) of the *Arabians*, in the times *Am. Mar-*
of the Emperor *Julian*; and *Melham*, *cel. l. 2. 4.*
the Name of the late Prince of *Tadmur*,
who treated the *English* Merchants with
so much Injustice. *Zebeidas*, *Zabdas*, and
Zabdilas, are the same; of which Name
were *Zabdas* Bishop of *Jerusalem* after
Hymenæus, and *Zabdi* (*Josh. 7. 3.*) while
the ignorant Transcribers of the Histo-
rian *Vopiscus* have turn'd *Zenobia's* Ge-
neral *Zabdas* into a Woman, (*Vopisc.*
p. 217. contra Zenobiam, & Zabam
ejus Sociam.) *Samsus*, *Samson*, Σαμψών
in the *LXX.* are of the same Original;
and from thence is *Sampsā* (or Σαμψά
ἡ γεγραμμένη) *Esdr. 4. 8.* and *Sam-*
saiceramus one of the Princes of *Syria*
under *Pompey*, another of that Name,
being the Priest of *Venus* under
Gallienus; and *Sampsā* a City in
Arabia, says *Stephanus*, Σαμψα παρὰ
τῆς Ἀραβίης ἡλιού. And *Epiphan.*
Her. 53. Σαμψάοι ἡλιανοί. And
O in

in the same *Stephanus*, Βάσις αμ. Ια. - Γ. κ. Θ. ἡλ. ις.

Odænathus is also of a Syrian Family; of which Name was a Philosopher, the Scholar of the Junior *Plutarch*, says Vid. Ὁ *Suidas* out of *Damascius* (Ὁδᾶναθ. δαίναθ. ὁπρὸς Συναίας) who ought to be remembered, if only for that one excellent Sentence of his, *That it is very difficult, and next to impossible, for Men either to think or speak of God, as He is.* *John Malela* always calls the Emperor *Enathus*; and he, being of *Antioch*, may have been presumed to have understood the Language, Names and Manners of his own Country, *Syria*. And *Eusebius*, among the Martyrs of *Palestine*, who suffer'd in the *Dioclesian* Persecution, reckons *Ennathas* a Woman of *Scythopolis*. And I have been enclined to believe, that *Enathus* and *Ignatius* were the same Name (*Ignatius* only better turn'd to please the Ear of the *Greeks* and *Romans*,) and that, in Honour of *Odænathus*, *Gallienus* assum'd the Name, who, in two rare Coins in Monsieur

* *Pag.* 413. * *Patin*, and as rare an Inscription in † *In H. A.* † *Fulvius Ursinus*, is styled *Publius Licinius Ignatius Gallienus*; or as *F. Har-*
509. *duin*,

duin, p. 330. from another Coin, *Egnatius*.

As to the Name *Mocimus*, I have been under suspense, whether I should correct the Books from the Monuments, or believe that the Transcriber of the Inscriptions might mistake a K for an N, which letters are not of a very different make, and turn and read *Monimus* for *Mocimus*. * *Jamblichus*, who was * *Apud Ju-*
born at *Chalcis*, not far from *Edessa*, *Ivan. Orat.*
says, that *Monimus* was the *Mercury* of IV. p. 281.
the People of *Edessa*: And † *Damascius*, † *Apud*
in the Life of *Isidore* the Philosopher, *Phot. Cod.*
says that *Jamblichus* derived himself § *παδ.*
from *Monimus* and *Sampsaceramus*, the
Roytelets of *Syria*; and the Criticks V. *Χάλ-*
have corrected *Stephanus*, *περὶ πύλεων. κ. ις.*
reading *Μόνιμ. Θ.* for *Μόνικ. Θ.* But
since the Name occurs so often in the
Inscriptions at *Palmyra*, and is al-
ways written *Μόνιμ. Θ.*, I am enclined
to think that that was the right read-
ing, and ought not to be alter'd, and
that from thence *Jamblichus* and others
are to be corrected.

Nor is it to be omitted, that the *Palmyrenians*, as well as other Nations, gave the Names of their Gods to their Princes,

and Illustrious Persons, as appears by the frequent use of *Jaribolus*, *Mocimus*, *Vaballathus*, *Elabelus*, and *Sampsasce-ramus*, among them ; as of *Adonijah*, and *Elijah*, &c. among the Jews ; of *Belsazzar*, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, among the *Babylonians* ; of *Mithrobarzanes*, and *Mithradates*, among the *Persians* ; of *Taautus*, *Serapion*, *Heracles*, *Heraclammon*, *Ammonius*, *Isidorus*, *Psammatofris*, *Oras*, *Orion*, &c. among the *Ægyptians* ; of *Cronius*, *Posidonius*, *Hephestion*, *Dionysius*, *Apollos*, among the *Greeks* ; of *Ithobalus*, and *Abibalus*, among the *Tyrians* ; of *Annibal*, *Asdrubal*, and *Maherbal*, among the *Carthaginians* ; of *Saturninus*, *Jovianus*, *Martius*, *Mercurialis*, and *Venerius*, among the *Romans*. And in like manner the Custom prevailed over the Northern, and other Nations, as might easily be proved.

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

Of their Publick Offices.

FROM the Names of the *Inhabitants*, I proceed to consider the several *Officers* that managed the Affairs of the Commonwealth ; for the Senate, in whose hands the Government was, and to whom was the *Dernier Resort*, constituted several *Officers* for the due Administration of the Duties of Religion and Justice.

Ἀγορεύουσι.

And because the Eastern Nations were much addicted to Idleness, and great Lovers of Diversion (few of the *Turks*, *Arabs* or *Persians* of the present Age being enclinable to hard labour, most of their time being spent in smoking *Tabacco*, and drinking *Coffee*,) in so much that they too often prefer'd their voluptuous Satisfactions (for they spent thirty Nights together in continued Revellings) to their Safety ; (for when *Sapores*, after he had made *Valerian* his Prisoner, sackt the City of *Antioch*, they were so intent and busied

O ; in

Ammian.
l. 3. c. 5. in seeing the Actors of a Farce, that till one of their Mimicks, turning him round, told them with astonishment, that the Swords of the *Persians* were at their Throats, they saw nothing of their Danger : And when the Emperor *Aurelian* return'd the second time to *Palmyra*, he surpriz'd the same *Antiochians*, so intent upon the sight of their Horse-Races, that when they thought him in *Thrace*, he was in their Market-place.) I will first treat of their *Ἀγορευνόμος*, or *Ædilis*, the Rich and Eminent Person, who furnish'd the Money for their Publick Spectacles, and was at the Charge of the Plays, though they had great Bequests often made to this purpose, and sometimes the Expence was defray'd out of the Publick Treasury ; (for that they had such an Officer at *Tadmur*, the *Inscriptions* put out of all dispute.) Their Original Office, it is true, was like that of our (a) Clerks of the Market (if not at first deputed to inspect the Temples, and their Revenues, and

(a) *Harpocrat.* Ἀγορευνόμοι οἱ τὰ κτ' ἢ Ἀγορὴν ἄντι δυνάμεντες ἀρ-
χόντες. So the Etymolog. M. Hesyc. Ἀγορευνόμος ὁ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ θέμων τῶ
δικαίων. Glossar. vet. Ædilis, Ἀγορευνόμος. Ἀγορευνομία, Ædilitas,
Ἀγορευνόμος, Ædiliticus, Ædilis. *Ariemud.* de reg. l. 2. c. 13. dixit τὸ
πρῶτον ἢ ἀγορευνόμον περινοεῖσθαι. And *Dio*, in his History, always uses
Ἀγορευνόμος for Ædilis.

to file the Records,) where they en-quired into whatever was bought or sold, and regulated the Prices ; and their number at *Athens* (says *Aristotle*, in his Book of that Commonwealth, cited by *Harpocratio*) was Twenty, Five in the *Pireæus*, and Fifteen in the City. But that which made them most acceptable to the Common People, was their Secondary Employment, to entertain the Citizens with whatever might contribute to their Diversion, upon their own Pocket ; and perhaps it often happen'd, that the same Persons who furnish'd the Expence, was the President, and Judge of the Games (both the *Ἀγορευνόμος* and *Ἀγωνο-δότης*,) who, if the whole Province met (the Κοινὸν δὲ Παλ-υμήνης) was from the Name of the Country call'd the *Παλιμνηνά-της*, as there were *Ἀσπίδαρχαι*, *Λυμναρχαι*, *Γαλατταρχαι*, &c. And therefore *Ruffinus*, in his Version of the Martyrdom of *St. Polycarp*, renders *Ἀσπίδαρχης*, in *Eusebius's* Greek by *Munerarius*, the Person who managed the Expence of the *Spectacula*, very properly.

Ludos facere Ædi-
lem *Cic.* l. 1. de Orat.
argentum ad ludos
commodare. l. 28. D.
de auro, argento, &c.
ædiles plebis ludorum
maximè gratiâ crea-
tos. *Vid.* *Gronov.* Ob-
serv. l. 4. c. 21.

Reinesii-
Inscript.
class. 6.
n. cxxi.

This Generosity made so deep and lasting an Impression upon the Populace, who are generally led by Appearances, and satisfy'd with Show, that they often erected Monuments to the Memory of their Benefactors, for this very reason. So the City of *Tænarium* (in the Gulf of *Sparta*) celebrated the Glory of *Tiberius Claudius Charito*, in this noble Inscription :

* Η πόλις ἡ Ταιναρίων Τιβέριον Κλαύ-
* f. Χαρί- διον * Χάριτωνα τῷ ἄριστον πολεῖν τω σωζο-
συνός τε καὶ περὶ τῷ ἀγορανομίαν ἀντι-
βλήντε φιλοτιμίᾳς ἔνεκεν Ἰν. Β. * Hoc est.
Ἰνδρόματι βελῆς. Subaudi ἐτίμησεν.

“ The City of the *Tænarians* have
“ honoured *Tiberius Claudius Charito*,
“ their most excellent Citizen, for his
“ great Prudence, and his unspeakable
“ Magnificence, when he was the *Ædile*
“ (or *Ἀγορανόμος*) of their City. This
“ Monument was erected by the Order
“ and Decree of the Senate.

Vid. Græ-
cæli me-
mor. Coffon.
n. 145.

In like manner *Claudius Paulinus* was rewarded by the Senate and People of *Smyrna* (for I conjecture that the Marble found in that City belongs to it)

with

with a noble Monument erected to the Memory of his Daughter ; because he he had been the *General of their Horse*, one of the chief of their Council, their *Ædilis*, and *Questor*, and *President of their Senate* (a) (which last was the highest Civil Honour he could attain to ; for even at *Rome* the Consul presided in the Senate, when the Emperor was present, if the Emperor himself was not Consul.) Thus the City of *Antioch* erected a Marble Statue in *Daphne* to *Artabanus*, one of their Citizens, who was the first *Syriarcha* who presided over the *Olympick Games* celebrated in that City in the Reign of the Emperor *Commodus*, with this Inscription, *To the eternal memory of Artaban.*

Plin. Pa-
negyric.

Malel.
par. 1.
lib. 12.
p. 381.

And thus the Senate and People of *Palmyra*, among the other Achievements of *Julius Aurelius Zenobius*, and of *Septimius Orodes*, celebrated them, that they had magnificently and splen-

(a) *Hesychius* gives another sense of Ἰππαρχος. Ὁ τῶν νέων ἐπιμελητὴς ὧν δὲ Λάκωσι. — Id. Ἰππάρχου πῖναξ, vel Ἰππάρχει ἐν πῖναξί, τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀτακτέντων γε-
φυγτες παρσημεῖοντο. — Id. Πρυτανίς, Βασιλεὺς, Ἀρχων.
V. Not. in par. 1. marm. Oxon. p. 106.

didly

didly discharged this Office ; particularly *Zenobius*, that he managed that Province, when he undertook it, with an extraordinary Liberality. For they distinguish between what was done at the expence of the Publick, and came out of the Treasury, and what was expended by the Officer out of his own Coffers ; and themselves took care, if the Commonwealth did not, to record this Circumstance ; so *Bolanus* is said to have built an Altar, *ἑὶς δῖον*, at his own charge ; and *Agathangelus*, to have erected a Canopy, and a Bed of State, *ἑὶς δῖον* : And so *Septimius* is said to have supplied the Company (or Caravans of Travellers) *ἑὶς δῖον*. And *Mareades*, who had been one of the Magistrates of *Antioch*, was, in the Reign of *Gallienus*, by the Vote of the whole Senate and People, ejected out of the Government ; because, whatever Party he was obliged to provide for in the Publick Horse-Races, he not only refused to lay out any Money of his own, but cheated the Publick of what was destin'd by the City to those Diversions, (the Emperors afterwards Enacting, That whosoever was appointed

Transact.
p. 99, 103,
109.

Vid. pag.
105.

Malel.
par. 1.
p. 390.

pointed to inspect the *Ludi Circenses*, *L. 10. tit. 31. §. 20.* which was the Office of the *Duumviri*, and alienated or diverted to another use any part of the Revenue destin'd to that Service, should be obliged to refund.) This Disgrace occasion'd his flying to *Sapores* the King of *Persia*, in those dissolute Times, to whom he gave an Account of the unhappy State of his Native Countrey, and the Carelessness of the Inhabitants, which occasion'd the ruine of that noble City, as is already mention'd, the Traytor himself being sacrificed by that very Prince whom he had invited into *Syria*, to the angry *Manes* of his abused Country ; Beheaded (says *Malela*.) Burnt alive (says * *Ammianus Marcellinus*.) And † *Xenophon*, introducing *Socrates* instructing *Critobulus* as to what would be expected from a Man of his Figure and Fortune at *Athens*, after he had inform'd him, that he must very frequently be at the charge of noble Sacrifices, and magnificent Entertainments and Feasts, he adds, That it would be expected from him, that he would be obliged to keep Horses for the Publick Races (*ἵππων πορείας, χορηγίας, καὶ τυμωναρχίας*.) and if he should ever refuse so to treat the

* *Ubi sup.*
† *Oeconom.* c. 4.

the Citizens, they would punish him as severely as if he had robb'd their Houses. So passionately were the People of those Ages and Countries addicted to the *Spectacula*, and so much did they think them their due.

Βελευτής.

The Senators of *Palmyra* were Men of Eminence and Condition, and the most Honourable Members of the Republick, and therefore are stiled in the Inscriptions (Λαμπροτάτοι Συσκληπτικοί) *Most Illustrious* : But of those Senators, some, I conjecture, were a standing Council of State, (as the Πρωτανεῖς were at *Athens*, and in most Commonwealths, some similar Court ;) for *Rupilius Orodes* is said to be both a Senator and a Counsellor (Συσκληπτικός, ἢ Βελευτής :) So that as the * Βελευτῶ and Πρωτανεῖς were distinguish'd at *Athens*, so at *Palmyra* the Συσκληπτικοί and Βελευτῆαι had their Distinctions. For as the *Romans* had their Senate, so other Cities had theirs ; their Court of Aldermen, who govern'd the People (their *Duumviri* representing the Consuls.) of which Senators some were Eminent and Principal for Authority and

* V. Marm.
Oxon. n. 46.

and Influence ; and such, probably, were the Βελευτῆαι at *Palmyra*, Men who had borne the Office of the Duumvirate, and for that reason were not only of the Senatorian, but Consular Dignity, (ὡς Συσκληπτικῶν ἢ Ὑπατικῶν as it is worded in another Inscription.)

Memor.
Coffon.
Marm. 2.
p. 140.

The Name Βελευτής, it must be confessed, is commonly given to every Member of that Court ; so the old *Glossary*. Βελευτής, *Decurio, Curialis* ; called *Decuriones*, because whenever the Colonies, or *Municipia*, were establish'd, and the Government of those Cities first instituted, the *Decurio* (like our Alderman of the Ward) had his particular Province appointed, and his Number of Persons, whom he inspected (*Nonius Marcel. Decuriones à numero, cui præerant, dicebantur*.) but the whole Order, or aggregate Body, govern'd all the Inhabitants, and are therefore called, in the Laws, and ancient Histories, *Decuriones Civitatum, Municipiorum, & Coloniarum*. Great care (says *Tully*) was used in the choice of such Governors, the Names of the Candidates being, before the Election, proposed to the People, that they might make their just

L. 6. Epist.
ad Sept.

Except

Vid. Not.
in Cod.
L. 10. T. 31.
n. 1.

Exceptions, if they had any, against the Person. When any Publick Business was to be done, the Senators were solemnly summon'd to the Court; for out of their Body the *Duumviri* were chosen (who were to be nominated three Months before they entred upon their Province;) as also the *Ædiles*, (and in some Places the *Dictators* and *Prætors*,) the Court being obliged to give immediate Notice to every Officer, if absent, whom they had elected: The Inspection of the Treasury was committed to them; they were entrusted with the Management and Disposal of all Bequests, and of the Publick Money; they were to take care that the Granaries should always be full, that the City might not want Bread: They imposed and levied Taxes: In short, the whole Management of the Commonwealth was in their hands.

Vid. B.
Griff. 14.
Solest. An.
cipit.

It must be granted, that the Discharge of the Office was very expensive, and they were accountable for whatever Publick Money should be embezled or misapplied, and were incumbered with a troublesome Province; for the Senator was not to leave the City,

City, to go to the Court, either upon the Publick, or his own private Affairs, without leave from the President of the Province: They were prohibited the applying themselves to a Military Employment; and if any Man scrupled to serve his Countrey, after he was chosen, the Law compell'd him for two Years together to do the Office of a *Duumvir* (unless the Court exempted him, or he had the consent of the Citizens to excuse him;) nor would flying to a Monastery give a Protection; a Religious House was not then a Sanctuary to skreen a Man from Civil Employments. And therefore in the * Novels of the Emperor * Nov. 46. *Leo* (after whose Reign the word doth not occur in the Laws, nor is it to be found in the *Basilica*) the Office of the *Ducurio* is styled Βαρύεια ἢ δυσόποιος λειτουργία, an Employment very burthenom and grievous, and probably, the Person, when chosen, was obliged to give to the Publick Treasury a Summ of Money; it being mention'd † as a † Grut. great Honour done to *Titius Chresimus*, 475. 3. that for the Merits of his Father, the Senate admitted him into their Society gratuitously, *Ob merita Patris honorem Decurio*.

Decurionatus gratuitum decrevit Ordo Decurionum.

But as the Office was thus molested (inasmuch as it was sometimes inflicted as a Punishment for some Offences) to their Privileges were very great, and their Station very honourable; they were exempt from all extraordinary Employments, and from enduring the Torture; were not to be condemn'd to the Mines, not to be Burnt alive, thrown to the Wild Beasts, Crucified, or Beheaded, (but if Criminal, were Imprison'd, and Fetter'd, till the Emperor had declar'd his Pleasure, and determin'd their Fate,) and the Honour was derived to the Family, to the Fathers and the Children of the Senators, who were by this means ennobled; the Men of Worth were capable of being chosen Members of the Court at Fifteen; and if any of them arrived to the Age of Seventy, or prov'd the Father of Twelve Children, he was excus'd from the Fatigue, while he enjoyed all the Privileges of a Senator; nor could he be compell'd to go out of the Province, unless in cases of most urgent necessity. Their Body was styled

styled *Ordo Decurionum*; the Roll in which their Edicts were entred, *Album Decurionum*; their Habits distinctive and ornamental (*Decurionalibus Vestimentis Ornatus*; Grut. p. 372. 7.) their Houses were supplied with Water upon the Publick Charge (*ut Aquæ digitus in Domo ejus flueret, commodisque Publicis, ac si decurio fruereetur*; Id. 475. 3.) and they were capable of the greatest Bequests, above Fifteen hundred Pound having been given by *C. Torasius*, to furnish out the Expence of a great Supper, annually provided on the Birth-day of his Son, for the *Ducuriones* of the City, and for a Largeß in Money to the Poor. And if any generous Person, when dying, left Legacies to the People, they were entrusted with the Disposál, (as appears by the Inscriptions *D. F. D. I. P. h. e. Decurionum fide dividenda in publicum.*) And if the Emperor resolv'd to express his Indignation against any People, he denied them the Privilege of being ruled by a Senate of their own Inhabitants, and left their Lives and Fortunes to the Discretion and Integrity of their Governor, who was a Foreigner. So *Au-* Dio. l. 51. p. 451. *gustus* punish'd the proud City of *Alex-*
P *andria*;

andria ; for when he had conquer'd *Egypt*, he constituted *Cornelius Gallus* their Governor, but would not permit any Citizen a share in Publick Affairs, while he allowed other Cities their Privileges, (τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι ἀνελευτῶν πολιτείας ἐπέλευσε,) and in this state they continued till *Septimius Severus* gave them (the *Jus buleutarum*) the liberty to be govern'd by their own Citizens ; and his Son *Antoninus* put them into the capacity of being chosen Senators at *Rome*, which, I conjecture, was one of the Privileges of the *Decuriones* in the Colonies.

Spartian.
Severus,
p. 70.

That this Title was very Honourable in the Colony of *Palmyra*, appears from *Sextus Rufus*, who calls *Odenathus*, before he assum'd the Purple, by the Name of *Decurio Palmyrenus*, which *Trebellius Pollio* explains by *Princeps Civitatis* ; for the Senators were the principal Men of the Cities where they resided.

Ἐπίτροποι Δεκουνάριοι.

In Imitation of the *Roman* Methods of Government, the *Palmyrenians* had
also

also their *Procuratores Ducenarii* ; of which Order was *Septimius Orodes*, under *Odenathus* ; and *Paulus of Samosata*, the Patriarch of *Antioch*, under *Zenobia*. The Original of the Office is to be deduced from the Times of *Augustus*, who, *Sueton. August. n. 32.* for the better and more regular government of his Subjects to the three Courts of Judicature, which had been formerly erected, added a fourth, styled *Decuria Ducenariorum* of an inferior Order, the Judges whereof, at their first Institution, were appointed to determine Causes of less moment, but were in process of time advanced to a nobler Jurisdiction ; they were commonly Men of Quality, of the *Equestrian* Dignity, though sometimes *Liberti*, (but in those days the Emperors Freed-Men made no contemptible Figure in the Commonwealth,) the Custom, before the Reign of *Augustus*, was, that every Officer furnisht the Expence of his Employment without any Charge to the Publick ; but that wise and munificent Prince considering the Temptations such Officers, who were no way provided for out of the Exchequer, were exposed to, appointed every one his Salary : And
P 2 from

Dio. l. 53.
P. 506.

from hence the *Ducenarii* had their Name, and not from their collecting the Tribute of the Provinces, and the Summs which they exacted (the *Ducentesima*) though that was a part of their Business, as of the Proconsul, where he presided, but from the Pension, which by the Imperial Constitution was to be paid them (which *Capitolinus* calls *Ducenum H. S. stipendium*, as the Law mentions the *Procuratores Centenarii* and *Sexagenarii* for the same reason.) For this *Dio* avers expressly, whatever some learned Men affirm to the contrary, — Τὸς ὑπερέτους (ἔτι καὶ τὸς τὰς τε κοινὰς προσόδους ἐκλέγοντας, καὶ προσεταμέναις στίον ἀναλίσκοντας ὀνομάζομεν) — καὶ τοῖς γε ὑπερέτοις, καὶ αὐτὸ τέτο ἀξιωματικῶν ὄνομα διὰ τὴν ἀριθμὸν τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς χρημάτων προσγίνεσθαι. the Salary being proportion'd to the Quality of the Person and his Employment; the Summ being limited as well as the Office: For the Procurator was not permitted to levy Soldiers, nor to raise larger Taxes upon the Provincials, than were appointed by the Emperor, or Senate; he was oblig'd to resign, whenever required; and

Ubi sup.

and not to linger in the Province after his time was expir'd, but to return to *Rome* in three Months.

In a few Years their Authority was *Tacit. An-* enlarged, became great and illustrious; *nal. 12.* *Claudius* oblig'd the Senate to enact it, That whatever was determin'd by the Emperor's Procurator, should be lookt on as valid, as if himself had decided the Controversie in Person. And when the Senate had Pass'd it as an Act, it was *L. I. D.* reckon'd among the Laws of the Em- *de Offic.* pire. The Office was seldom bestow'd *Proc. Cæs.* on a private Person, unless of extraordinary Merit, but upon a Man of Eminence, and a Favourite of the Emperor's: He was impow'ed to inspect all *Id. Vit.* Publick Affairs; but the proper Busi- *Agric.* nesses of the Procurator, was to over-see the Publick Revenue; his Office in the Province entitling him to the same Charge that the *Præfecti Aerarum* (the Lords of the Treasury) had at *Rome*; and it was a step to the Senatorian Dignity, as that was many times to the Imperial; for *Pertinax* was the *Procu-* *Capitolin.* *Pertinax.* *p. 54.* *rator Ducenarius* in *Dacia*, before he assum'd the Purple. Their Title was *Κεράτης*, as appears by the Inscription,

tion, and by Holy Writ, (for *Festus* is, *Act. 26. 25.* call'd *Kατάστα Φύλα.*) They had their Guards to protect them (* *E. H. 7. 30.* (*Δορυφορέμτοι*) says * *Eusebius*, their Retinue was great, and their Attendance numerous; sometimes they represented the Presidents of the Provinces (*Procurator Cæsaris Vice Præsidis Provinciæ fungetur*, says the Law; and the old Inscriptions † *Procur. August. & Proleg. Provinciæ Rhetiaë, & Vindelic.*) At other times both Offices were united; for || *P. Vibius* was both *Procurator* and *Præses* of *Sardinia*: And whenever the President resided in the Province, the Procurator was his Assessor in the Courts of Judicature, and had an equal Vote in the Determination of such Causes as were brought before them. This Power of making inspection into all Matters, often encouraged them to be very troublesome, (insomuch that the Emperor *Constantine the Great* thought fit to restrain their Power, and regulate their Exactions;) and they were of old more particularly guilty of molesting the Primitive Christians, whom they persecuted with extreme Severity, compelling the weaker

† *Grut. p. 376.*

|| *Id. p. 487. 6.*

fort to Blaspheme, or Compound, while they caused the resolute Confessors to be tortured to Death. This the *Novatian Commentary* in, * *Eulogius* * *Apud. Phot. Cod. 182. pag. 214.* demonstrates, that in the Persecution begun by *Decius* and *Valerian*, *Perennius the Ducenarius*, by Order of the Emperors, pursued the Christians at *Rome*, and in the neighbouring Countries, with the greatest severity, murdering some, and compelling others to commit Idolatry. About which time, *St. Cyprian* informs us, that *Martialis* *Ep. 170. Edit. Oxon.* and *Basilides*, two Spanish Bishops, had appear'd before the Procurator *Ducenarius*, and had taken out Libels of Security from him; that they had sacrificed to Idols. And that which supported *Paulus of Samosata*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, against the Catholick Church, which had in a Synod solemnly condemn'd *Euseb. 7. 10.* him, was, his Authority of Procurator to *Zenobia* his Patroness; upon which he valued himself, for it supported his Pride and Grandeur, and therefore chose rather to be called by the Name of *Ducenarius*, than *Bishop*, (and accordingly he kept up the state of a Civil Officer, and Minister of Justice,

had his Tribunal, and a Sublime Throne, together with his *Secretum*, (*Secretarium*, or *Auditorium*) Court of Judicatory, in the innermost part of the *Prætorium*, separated from the rest of the Hall by Railles and Curtains, that being the Place where the Chief Magistrate used to sit, when he took cognizance of Criminal Causes.) And in an old Inscription, *Q. Ælius Januarius* is said to have been the Procurator of *Osroene*, and *Syria Cele*.

Grut. 346.
E.

L. 2. c. 8.

* *Ad Patrum.*

† *Thef.*
P. 102.

|| P. 457.
8.

But this was not the sole signification of the word *Ducenarius*; for by it sometimes was meant, one who commanded Two Hundred Men (so says *Vegetius*) as the *Centenarius* did One Hundred. And thus * *St. Jerom* musters the Officers of a Regiment, *Post Tribunum Primicerius, deinde Senator, Ducenarius, Biarchus, Circitor, Eques*. So the old Glossary, *Ducenarius Διακομιστής*. *Dux Ducenarius*, in † *Goltzius*. *Vir Ducenarius*, as *Salmasius* reads the old Inscription in || *Gruter*. *Tribunus Militaris Legionis Tertiæ Italicæ*; not *Ducenarius Tribunus*, as *Scaliger* says in the excellent *Index* to that laborious and useful Work; though perhaps the im-

perfect

perfect words of the Inscription may be supplied, and read *Procurator Ducenarius, Tribunus, &c.* They are called *Proteſtores Ducenarii* in another Inscription; the *Σωματοφύλακες*, Commanders of Two Companies of the Lifeguards, who of old, as among us, were treated with the Title of *Colonels*, and accordingly respected and paid: The difference of Title between these Military *Ducenarii* and the *Procurators* consisting in this, that the Office of the former was styled *Dignitas Ducentena*, of the later *Dignitas Ducenaria*.

Γεγραμμένος.

Among other Officers of Note and Figure at *Palmyra*, the *Γεγραμμένος*, or *Secretary* of the Senate and People, was very eminent; and among others who had been chosen to that Honour, *Malech Agrippa* is remarkable in the Inscriptions, who a second time managed that Office, when *Alexander* the Emperor came into *Syria*.

The Secretaries or Scribes at *Rome* were very numerous, being divided into their

Tacit. Annal. l. 13. their several Classes or *Decuriæ*, their Office obliging them to attend upon the respective Magistrate, to whom they did belong, whether he were the *Prætor*, *Ædile*, *Quæstor*, *General of the Fleet*, or the *High Priest* (or the *Wardens of the Port at Athens*,) for every one of these had his *Scriba*; the Employment was very honourable, (for the Secretary was very little inferior to the Chief Magistrate, either in Dignity or Authority, being often of the first Rank of the Nobility,) so says *Tully*, *Scribarum Ordo est honestus* — quod eorum hominum fidei tabulæ publicæ, periculaque Magistratuum committantur. He was Elected into the Office, says *Julius Pollux*. And *Aristotle*, in his Account of the Commonwealth of *Athens*, affirms, that he was the Keeper of the Publick Records (and *Tully* says the same) enroll'd all the Decrees of the Senate, and was an Assessor in the Courts of Judicature. And therefore *Suidas* is mistaken, when he avers, that they had no other Employment, than to Write, and Read, or Publish the Orders of the Senate: There were Three *Γραμματεῖς* at *Athens*, of whom the First

Orat. 8. in Verr.

Ubi infr.

Jul. Pol. l. 8. c. 8, 9, 11.

First kept all the Publick Writings, the Letters and Decrees of the City, and he was chosen out of the *Πρυτανεῖς* by the Council: To the Second, the keeping of all the Laws was entrusted, and he also was nominated by the Council: But the Third was the Secretary of the People, chosen by the Commons, and he it was who read all the Writings of the People, says the Scholiast of *Thucydides*, or rather read all the Publick Orders both to the Senate and People: His Method of Proceeding is thus stated by *Armonius*. Ὁ μὲν γραμματεὺς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν γεγραμμένων ἡρητιμάτων ἀναγνώσκων τῷ δήμῳ τότε ὄνομα ἔλεγε τὸ γεγραμμένον, καὶ τὸ πατέρα, καὶ τὸ πατρὸς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον, οἷον Δημοθένης Πατριεὺς ἡρώδης εἰσφέρει τοῖονδε· τὸ μὲντοι δεύτερον, ἢ καὶ τρίτον, εἰ ἔτις ἐτυχεν ἐμφανίζων καὶ τὰ ἑξ. The *Grammateus* having several Orders of Council in his Hand, which he was to publish to the People; he began with the first, and read the Name of the Person who proposed the Decree, his Father's Name, and the Name of the Tribe or People to which he belong'd, and then publisht the Decree it self; after which, he

In Περὶ
Ἑσμῶν.

he proceeded to the second, and third, till he had publisht them all.

The Name of the Secretary was always inserted into every Decree, together with the Ἐπίστατης, or President of the Senate for the time being, or the Prætor. Thus the Inscription at *Agri-*
Grut. 401. *gentum (Gergento) in Sicily,* Ἐπὶ Ἱερο-
 δότῃ Νυμφοδάρῃ τῷ Φίλωνι — προαγο-
 ρῆντι. Διονλίῳ τῷ Διονλίῳ, γραμ-
 ματῶντος Ἀδελφίου Ἀλεξάνδρου.
 And very often his Name had the
 precedence in the Decree, as appears by
 several Instances; * Ἐδοξε τῇ βέλῃ καὶ τοῖς
 δήμῳ — Κλεογένης ἐγραμμάτωε, Βίβδος
 ἐπέσταται. † Ἐδοξε τὰς δήμῳ — Φάνω-
 πος ἐγραμμάτωε. Νινιάδης ἐπέσταται.
 * *Andocyd.*
de Myster.
 † *Thucyd.*
l. 3. v.
V. Cl. Not.
in Marm.
Ox. 46.
 And in the Coins, the Name of the
 Γραμματῶς, as of a publick eminent
 Officer, from whose Year of Govern-
 ment the People made their Computa-
 tion, is frequently inserted, particularly
 in those of the Cities of *Caria*, where,
 I suppose, the Γραμματῶς was the
 Chief Magistrate. One of the Coins
 of *Mylasa* is said to be stampt Γραμμα-
 τῶντος Ὑβρέε, (and *Hybreas* the Ora-
 || *Lib. 14.*
p. 659. tor govern'd the City, says || *Strabo*.)
 So the Coin of the *Magnesian*,
 upon

upon the *Mæander*, in the Reign of
Maximinus, was stampt ὅπῃ γραμμα-
 Μαριανῶ. And another of the *Ephe-*
fians, Γραμματῶς Ἀρίστων, when *Ariston*
 was their Secretary. And so Honou-
 rable was the Office, and so Great the *Ast. 19.*
 Authority at *Ephesus*, that when the
 whole City was in an Uproar, and all
 the People of *Asia* fermented into a vio-
 lent Tumult, (for it is highly probable,
 that the Insult was made upon *St. Paul*,
 when the Κεινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας, the *Communi-*
ty of Asia, were met to celebrate their
 Publick Games,) he, by his single Au-
 thority and Command, dismiss and
 dispersd the riotous Assembly.

And I conjecture, that it was one
 reason why the same Person was not
 long continued in this Office, to pre-
 vent any mischievous Innovations which
 might be made in the Republick by an
 Officer who had so great a Trust, and
 had it in his Power to make himself
 very Popular. For it was a Law at
Athens, That no Man should be twice *V. Petit.*
 Γραμματῶς, under the same Magistracy: *de legib.*
Attic.
 Though the same Person might be
 chosen a second time, under new Ma-
 gistrates, as appears by the *Palmyrene*
 Inscrip-

* Grut.
448. 1.

Petit. ubi
sup. p. 232.

Inscription ; for though some Places of Trust were, by special Favour, and upon great Merit, given for Life, some of their High Priests being constituted διὰ βίης yet, though *Sigonius* affirms the contrary, even the High Priesthood it self was limited, and probably Annual in many Places. So * *Papirius Alexander* is said to be High Priest the second time (though in the same Inscription he is called the Priest of *Bacchus* for his Life.) And in a Coin of the *Magnesiensians*, near *Sipylus*, *Apphianus* is said to be *Prætor* and High Priest the second time. So several Cities were constituted Νεωπόροι, the second and third time. And *T. Fl. Tæanus* (*Gruter* calls him *Ælianus*) is said to have been the thirteenth time, ἀγανοδέτης, in the Κοινὸν τῆς Γαλατίας. And *Cleogenes*, in the Decree of the Senate and People of *Athens*, is said to have been the first time Secretary (πρωτόν ἐγγραμματοδότην,) as *Malech Agrippa* manag'd that Province a second time at *Palmyra*. Nor was the Γραμματεὺς always a Civil Officer, or Minister of State, but sometimes an Ecclesiastick, and Minister of Religion ; for the High Priest had al-

ways

ways his Secretary ; to which Office no Man was at first admitted, but he who was of the *Patrician* Dignity. Thus *Cl. Paulinus*, in a curious Inscription lately brought from the *Levant*, is styled the *General of the Horse*, the *Prutanis*, *Ædilis*, *Quæstor*, *President of the Senate*, *President of the Gymnasium* (or *Gymnasiarch*,) *Master of the Ordnance* (or *Armory*,) the *Custos Rotulorum*, and *Secretary of the Olympick Games*. Where we may observe, that the Γραμματοφύλαξ and Γραμματεὺς were distinct Offices, the one a Civil, the other a Sacred Employment : But that the first also was very Honourable ; for in another Inscription brought from the same Place, *T. Fl. Onesimus Pater-*

V. Gronov.
Memor.
Coffon.
p. 146.
Marm. 22.

Marm.
Ox. 116.

Grut. p.
219.

nals

nals of all the Leagues, and to keep in a strong Box all the Books belonging to his Office, and the Publick Affairs; and when he shall be required by the Community, he shall bring them into the Senate-House; and whenever the Society shall chuse another (Γραμματεὺς τῶν ῥαββίνων) *Custos Rotulorum*, he shall deliver up his Trust.

But in process of time, no Lay-man was permitted to be Secretary to the High Priest, he was always chosen out of the inferior Sacred Orders, and in the old Inscriptions is styled *Scriba, à Libris Pontificalibus*, who transcribed and preserved all the Ritual, and other Books, that belong'd to the High Priest's Office, and many times he managed the Revenues of the Sacerdotal College, being the Treasurer of the Temple. So *Q. Ingenuus Maximianus* was *Scriba Publicus Pontif.* & *Curator Ærarii*, the Keeper of the Records of the Temple, (and Publick Treaties and Leagues, besides the Deeds of private Families, were for the most part deposited in Temples.) And the *Treasurer*; so *Nehemiah* made *Shelemiah* the Priest, and *Zadock* the Scribe, and the Levite *Pedaiah*, Treasurers

Grut. 306.
7.

urers of the Temple (*Nehem.* 13. 13.) And *Ingenuus* is styled *Scriba Publicus*, because the High Priest had besides him (as I conjecture) another private Secretary for his own Affairs. So *Livius Theona* is said to be *ab Epistolis Græcis*, Id. 587. 6. *Scriba, à Libris Pontificalibus*. Such Publick Scribes belonging to the High-Priests, were those probably of whom we read in the Sacred Writings, the *Chief Priests* and the *Scribes* being commonly joined together, (Ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ Γραμματεῖς, *Mat.* 26. 3. *Mar.* 10. 33. a very honourable Station, for God is said to imprint Glory on the Face of the Scribe, *Ecclus.* 10. 5.) and they continued in Employment among the Jews, when the High-priesthood ceas'd, 600 Years after our Saviour's time; for when *Gregentius* introduces the eminent Jews, who attended their Champion *Herbanus* to the Disputation about Religion, at *Tephra*, he reckons up a multitude of *Scribes*, and *Pharisees*, and *Lawyers*, who were present at the Debate of the Controversie, they being the most illustrious Persons of the Nation; Πλήθος καὶ Γραμματέων, καὶ Νομοδιδασκάλων, — οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ ἀγαθοὶ.

Disput. cum
Herbano
Jud.

Q

Among

Among the chief Ministers at *Antioch* (a City with which *Palmyra* had a great Commerce) the Secretary of the Olympick Games was habited, and worshippt as a God; for when *Commodus* the Emperor had confirm'd the Bequest of *Sofibius* to the People of *Antioch*, that every Fifth Year they might, for Forty five Days together, celebrate the *Olympick Games*, the next Officer to the *Alytarches* (who was the President of the Assembly, and made Laws for the good and decent Management of those Sports) was the *Γεαρμαίδης*, who represented *Apollo*; he was chosen by the Senate and People, clad, all the time the Solemnity lasted, in a White Garment, his Head adorn'd with a Crown of pure Gold shap't like the Leaves of Lawrel, and was worshippt as if he had been *Apollo*. This Officer, if the Olympick Games were peculiar to *Antioch* in the East, as to *Elus* in *Greece*; (so says the learned Commentator on the *Oxford Marbles*, though the above-cited Inscription in Honour of *Paulinus* persuades me to believe that the Games were also celebrated at *Smyna*;) was also peculiar to that City. But the rest of

of *Asia* had their other Games in Honour of the Emperors (which were celebrated by the (Κοινὴν τῶν Ἀσίας, Γαλατίας, Βιθυνίας,) Communities of *Asia*, *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, &c. wherein the *Γεαρμαίδης* had a principal share. This Office, perhaps, was discharged by *Malech Agrippa* at *Palmyra*, in the Games celebrated in Honour of *Alexander* the Emperor, when he came into that part of *Syria*, in the (Κοινὴν τῶν Παλμυρήνης) general Meeting of the Inhabitants of that Province.

At *Alexandria*, one Order of their Priests were called *Ἱερογραμματεῖς*, (and among them, probably, he who was of more eminent Worth and Station was styled *Ἀρχιγραμματεὺς*. *Scribarum Primus*, as among the *Lictors*, the *Ἀρχιμαδῆχ* was *Lictorum Princeps*;) of whose extraordinary Sobriety, Continency, and other Vertues, together with their love of Solitude and Abstinences, *Cheræmon* the *Stoick* (who was of the same Order, say *Theodorit* and *Tzetzes*, *Ap. Porph.* though *Strabo* speak slightly of him) *π. ἀποχ.* gives a large Account. And *St. Clements* of *Alexandria* describes their Habit; * Ὁ Ἱερογραμματεὺς πορεῖ χεῖρ * Σ' παμ. *ἐχεν* *l. 6.*

ἔχων τὰ πτερά ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς, βιβλιόντι
 ἐν χειρὶ καὶ κανόνα ἐν ᾧ τότε γραμμὴν
 μέλαν, καὶ χοῦν ἢ γράσσει, καὶ τὰ ἑξ·
 That the Sacred Scribe had Wings on
 his Head (like a *Mercury*;) that he
 carry'd a Book in his Hand, and a Pot,
 or Vessel, (for so I render Κανόνα, not
Regulam, as the Interpreter: For who
 carries Ink in a Rule? Ink must be
 carry'd in a Vial, or Pot. So *Hesych.*
 Κανόν, Κανὼν, Κανίστρον (*lege* Κάνιστρον)
 Κανίσκιον, as I would correct the learned
 Grammarian. *Id.* Κανὼν, Κανίσκιον,
 Διοσκείριον and so Καννηφόρος, Ἀμφοφόρος
 ἢ ὑμφορὼν, ἢ τὸ κανὼν φέροντα) in which
 was Ink, and a Pen, to write with:
 His Province was to be acquainted with,
 and to know exactly the Hieroglyphicks
 of the *Egyptians*, to understand Cosmo-
 graphy and Geography, the Motions of
 the Sun and Moon, with the Influences
 of the Seven Planets, the Chorography
 of *Egypt*, the Description of the River
Nilus, the Use of the several Vessels and
 Instruments employed in Holy Offices,
 the state of all Consecrated Places, the
 several kinds of Measures, and what-
 ever else was necessary for the accom-
 plishing their Sacred Studies. For in
 Egypt

Egypt the Priests were obliged to make
 themselves Masters of the Thirty six
 Books of *Hermes*, which contain'd their
 Sacred Philosophy, treating of Religion
 and Nature, (the other Six Books of his
 Works being Medicinal,) among whom
 the Prophet (the Chief Priest, or *Præ-*
fect of the the Temple) was bound to
 learn Ten for his part (called Ἱερατικὰ
 Βιβλία, the *Sacerdotal Books*) wherein
Hermes treated of the Laws, and the
 Gods, and the whole Discipline of the
 Priesthood; the *Chanter* (ᾠδὸς, or
 ὕμνωδός,) the Σπολισαὶ (or Ἱεροσπολισαὶ,
 as *Cheræmon* calls them) with the Ἱερο- L.I. Hiero-
glyph.
 γραμματεῖς, being obliged to learn the
 rest. And *Orus Apollo* says, that he
 who would describe an Ἱερογραμμα-
 τὴς in Hieroglyphick, ought to repre-
 sent him by Ink, a Sieve, and a Reed:
 Of the Reed the *Egyptians* made their
 Pens, so that Ink, and a Reed, denoted
 his Profession; the Sieve (which also
 was made of the Reed, or Bulrush)
 his Condition and Quality, that he was
 well provided for, and had leisure to
 study, those who want Bread being
 compell'd to apply themselves to Me-
 chanical Trades. And the same Au-
 thor

thor informs us, they were Judges of Life and Death, not that they pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation upon Criminals, or granted Pardons or Reprieves; but that in times of Sickncfs, they determin'd whether the Patient should live or die: Ἐπὶ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἱερογραμμαῖσι ἐν βιβλῷ ἱερῷ καλεμένη Ἀμβρῆς, (which is, I doubt not, an *Egyptian* word, nor does it occur in any *Lexicon*, only in *Hesychius* I find Ἀμβελῆς, Στραπδῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, and perhaps Ἀμβρῆς is Στραπδῆς) for the ἱερογραμμαῖς had a Sacred Book, which they called *Ambres* (probably a Medicinal Treatise, one of the six Books of *Hermes*, which he wrote upon that Subject) by the Inspection of which, they judg'd whether the sick Person would either die, or recover. So much for the Γραμμαῖς.

Συμποσίαχ.

It is unquestionable, that the Heathens treated their Mock-Deities (and they did so in Imitation of what the True God himself commanded the Jews
under

under the *Mosaical* Constitutions) as great Princes use to be serv'd. The Temple was the Palace of the God, the Priests his Servants; he had every Day his Sacrifices, (and the Heathen Notion was, That the Deity liv'd upon the Streams and Blood of those Oblations, as the True God is said to *smell a sweet-smelling savour*.) The Temple was nobly furnisht with whatever might serve for Pomp or Use, with Tables (on which the Meat-Offerings and Drink-Offerings were presented,) with *Pulvinaria* and *Lectisternia*; with Beds, and Pillows of State, whereon he might rest himself, (for they believ'd him Personally present in the Place that was consecrated to his Honour, as the True God dwelt in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*) and whatever other Utensils were requisite: And on the Days of High Solemnity, the People were entertain'd at the Expence of the Idol (tho' themselves pay'd for it, part of their own Sacrifices being deputed to that use) with Musick, and a splendid Feast, particularly on the Anniversary Festival of the Dedication of the Temple; and a Master of the Feast was constituted to
Q 4 sic

see all things managed with *decorum*, and in good Order. This Officer, probably; is called, in the Sacred Writings, *Ἀρχισυντακτός* in the *Palmyrene* Inscription, *Συμποσίαρχος τῷ τῷ Διὶ Βήλῳ ἱερῶν* the *Symposiarch*, in the Sacrifices of *Jupiter Belus*; which Office was discharg'd by *Septimius Orodes*. *Varro* calls the *Symposiarch*, *Modimperator*; *Arrian*, *Βασιλεύς* *Plutarch*, sometimes, *Συμποσία Πρωτανίς*, at other times *Συμποσία Ἀρχων*, or *Συμποσία Βασιλεύς*. The Place (as well as the Entertainment) was called *Συμπόσιον*. *Hesyc.* *Συμπόσιον, τόπος δ'ωχίας καὶ πόσεως*. The Seats; or Couches, whereon the Guests were placed, *Κλῖναι Συμποσίας*. So the old *Glossary*. *Lectus Genialis*, *Κλῖνι Συμποσίας*.) *Julius Pollux* says the *Symposiarch* was the Curator, the Director and Governor of the Feast; (the *Ἐσιτάς*, or *Ἐσιτέχος*, in *Aristophanes*.) and that he was chosen either by Lot, or by Vote; by Lot, says * *Arrian*. *Plutarch*, in a Treatise written on purpose on this Subject with great accuracy, as if he had been forming a Statue of Wax, how a *Symposiarch* ought to behave himself, † That in his time the Practice was

L. 6. c. 1.

* In *Epist.*
l. 1. c. 25.

† *Quaest.*
Conviv. l. 1.
Probl. 4.

was grown into disuse, (I suppose he means in Private Feasts; for in Solemn Festivals, I question not but it was preserv'd,) and that he and his Friends would endeavour to restore it; That the *King* (so he calls the *Symposiarch*) was crown'd, after he had been chosen by the common Consent of the Company; That his Province was, to make and impose the Laws of Drinking; That he ought to be a Man of Skill in that Exercise, and a Man of Prudence, to consider that he govern'd his Friends, (That a Tyrannical Administration would misbecome such a Prince,) and so to order the distribution of the Wine according to every Man's capacity, that no one in the Company might prove troublesome in his Drink, and so to mix Water with every Glass, that every Man might be able to bear it: By which Method they did wind up every Man's Humour to such a peg, that the dissonant Tempers, as Discords in Musick make Harmony, might promote the Mirth and Good Humour of the Company. He blames some Men, who turn'd the Room into a Court of Justice, a School, or a Play-house, introducing

ducing Orators with their Declamations, Musick and Dancers, all which he dislikes. He distinguishes between Private and Publick Feasts; between what was Sacred, and what not; and censures *Alcibiades* and *Theodorus*, that they managed the Private Feast of *Polytion*, as if it had been an Entertainment at a Solemn Sacrifice; for they had their Torch-bearers, and Ecclesiastical Officers who explained the Mysteries (*Hierophantæ*), whereas nothing should be said or done in such a Meeting, but what is agreeable to the Design; That a strict *decorum* ought to be observ'd in such Meetings; That a Man with a hoarse Voice ought not to be commanded to sing, nor a lame Man to dance, nor an old Fellow to comb his Bald Head; That the Institution was serious, tho' the Management pleasant and jocular; and that a Reward was given to him who should entertain the Company with any thing that was new and diverting, provided it were comely and honest. Thus *Plutarch*.

That all the Company obeyed the Master of the Feast, is plain from that passage in *Arrian*, who says, That in

Ubi sup.

the *Saturnalia* the King was chosen by Lot; That he commanded every one in Company, and order'd him his Business, Προσάγει σὺ πῆς, σὺ κέραιον, σὺ ὄσον (*lege ὄσον*) &c. Drink you, and do you fill, while the third Man sings; Go you home, you have your Dose, and come you in:— And every Man obeys, lest he should disturb the Mirth of the Company. The Rule of Drinking was stated and known, every Man according to his capacity, the *Symposiarcho* being Judge, and every wise Man as much as he pleased. So when the King of *Persia* made his Feast to his Subjects (*ἐποίησε πότον*, the *LXX.* render it) they all drank according to Law, so say our Translators; but the *LXX.* ἐ κατὰ προκείμενον νόμον, not according to the Rules which were usually prescribed by the Master of the Feast, every Man drank what himself pleased. And when *Agefilaus the Great*, being chosen the *Symposiarcho*, was askt by the Servant who fill'd the Wine, what quantity of Liquor he should give to every Man? *If there be much Wine* (says he) *give every Man as much as he desires; if but a little, divide it equal.* And I question not

*Plut. A-
popht.
of Laconic.*

not but these Rules of Drinking were observed in Solemn, Publick and Religious Festivals, as well as in Private Entertainments, since much of the *Pagan* Religion consisted in good Eating and Drinking, and other Methods of Jollity.

Ἐπιμελητὴς δὲ Πηγῆς.

Nor were the Senate of *Palmyra* only concern'd for the immediate Rites of their own City, but they chose out of their Men of Condition, one or more to inspect the Places in their Neighbourhood, dedicated to their Religious Worship. So *Bolanus* the Son of *Zenobius*, the Nephew of *Airanes*, who was the Son of *Mocimus*, the Grandson of *Matthas*, was the Curator of the Fountain dedicated to *Venus*, at *Nacle* (or *Nacelis*) a City that was situate between *Heliopolis* (the *Syrian Heliopolis*) and *Biblus*, under *Jaribolus*, who being one of their (Πατριῶσι Θεοῖ) Countrey Gods, was the President of the Place. Of *Jaribolus* I shall treat hereafter; at present, of the Overseer or Guardian of the Fountain. The *Curators* (that is the

the true *Roman* Name) were those who probably superintended the Repairs of the Fountain, collected and improved the Revenues, and made Provision for the great Crowds who came thither to consult the Oracle, or visited the Place, out of (mistaken) Devotion, at the solemn times appointed: They were the *Aeditui Fontium*, or the Πηγολόγοι.

There were several sorts of Ἐπιμεληταὶ among the Antients, who had their Denomination from their Concerns: The Overseer of the *Appian* way (Ἐπιμελητὴς ὁδῷ Ἀππίας) occurs in *Gruter*, (and the People of *Spain* P. 495. 2. were for a while very eager Disputants for the Honour of a new Saint, whose Tomb they had found, call'd *St. Viar*, through their mistake of a broken Inscription, of which only these Fragments remained, *S. VIAR*, i.e. *Curatores Viarum*.) So the Ἀγωνοδῆται were the Overseers of their Games, says *Julius Pollux*. L. 3. c. 30. Ἀθλων Ἐπιμεληταί. And Princes are said to be Ἐπιμεληταὶ Θεῶν—ὑπηρετῶν—Preservers of the Rights of Religion, and of their Subjects. The *Curators* of the Imperial Palaces and Revenues were

Lib. 5.

were Men of the Senatorian, and sometimes of the Consular Dignity, says *Agathias*: Ἀνατόλιον τῶ ἐν τῇ συλλήπτῳ βελῇ ἀναγεγραμμένων — ἄνδρα τῇ τῶ ὑπᾶτων ἀξία πεποιημένον, ἐν πρὸς γὰρ τὸ φροντίζειν τὴν πόλιν, ἐν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶ βουλευτικῆς οἰκῶν τε ἐν κτημάτων ἀρχῇ εἰληφότες. κεραιτωρὲς δὲ τέρας καλεῖται Ρωμαῖοι. And the Wardens of the Port at *Athens* are styled Ἐμπορεῖς Ἐπιμεληταὶ in *Harpocraton*, who inspected the Ships, that bought Corn into the Port, and took care that the City might not want Bread. They were, says

* Lib. 6.
p. 411.

* *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, Ὑπερέταί τῶ δημαρχῶν, ἐν συνάρχοντες, ἐν δεκασταί, Assistants to the *Demarchus* at *Athens*, Copartners with him in his Government, and Judges of Causes: But now, says he, from one part of their Business, they are called Ἱερῶν τόπων Ἐπιμεληταί, the *Guardians of Holy Places*. The Trust was thought too great for any single Person. At *Athens* the number was Five, the *President* (or *Bouleutes*,) with Four Assessors, who were chosen by the People, two out of the Citizens in general, the third out of the *Eumolpidae*, the fourth out of the

Aristot.
π. πολιτ.
Ἀθην.
Apud Harpocrat.

the *Ceryces* (the Descendants from *Eumolpus* and *Ceryx*.) In the *Panathenaea* & *Dionysia* their number was encreased to Ten, one out of every Tribe; but their Business was only the oversight of the Games (the *Wrestlings*, *Horse-races*, and *Musick*;) And when the greater Mysteries were celebrated, Ten inferior Priests (ἱεροποιοί) were added to the *Βασιλεὺς* and Ἐπιμεληταί, as Assistants in Sacrificing.

Pollux.
l. 8. c. 9.
V. c. 8.

But though the Number at *Athens*, of their *Curators* of their Mysteries and Sacred Places, were but Four; at *Nacle*, its plain, they were more, from the Inscription, Eight at the least, and how many more we know not. At *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, the Ἐπιμελητὴς ἱερῶν τόπων was a Person of great Honour, from whose Office they commonly dated their Inscriptions, the Senate and People erecting a Monument to the Honour of *Fulvius Rusticus Æmilianus* their Benefactor, Ἐπιμελεμένε Μενοτισβίε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, when *Menotesbius Alexander* was their Ἐπιμελητής, (so I am enclined to render it, not that he only took care of the Inscription.) Another Inscription was set up to the Honour of *T. Fl. Tæanus*,

V. Marm. I.
in Memor.
Coffin. p.
140.

Marm. 3.
p. 141.

Φυλαγε-

Lib. 5.

were Men of the Senatorian, and sometimes of the Consular Dignity, says *Agathias*: Ἀνατόλιον τῆς ἐν τῇ συστάσει βασιλῆς ἀναρχηραμένων — ἄνδρα τῇ τῆς ὑπᾶτων ἀξία τετιμημένον, καὶ πρὸς γὰρ τὸ φροντίζειν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς βασιλείας οἰκον τε καὶ κτημάτων ἀρχὴν εἰσφέρειν. κεραιπώτας δὲ τέττας καλεῖται Ρωμαῖοι. And the Wardens of the Port at *Athens* are styled Ἐμπορεῖς Ἐπιμεληταὶ in *Harpocration*, who inspected the Ships, that bought Corn into the Port, and took care that the City might not want Bread. They were, says

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π. πολίτ.
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was set up to the Honour of *T. Fl. Iæanus*, p. 141.
Φυλαγε-

Φυλαρχῶν ἁγιστάς (when *Agessilaus Secundus* was *Phylarchus*, so they call'd the Commander of the Horse of every Tribe, who was a Lieutenant-General to the General of the Horse, says *Harpocration*,) *Flavius Asclepius* and *Aurelius Asclepius* (Ἐπιμελεσμένων) being *Curators*, for there were more than One at *Ancyra*; and sometimes the same Person was both the *Phylarchus* and Ἐπιμελητής. Another Inscription to the Honour of the same *Tæanus* being erected (Φυλαρχῶν καὶ Ἐπιμελεσμένων Περσέως, Φυλαρχῶν καὶ Ἐπιμελεσμένων Ἀντωνίου Ἀντωνίνου) when *Posthumius* and *Antonius Antoninus* were both Φύλαρχοι and Ἐπιμεληταί. But this I propose only as a Conjecture, and shall be glad to be corrected, if mistaken.

Marm. 4.
p. 142.

C H A P.

C H A P. IV.

Of their Idolatry and Superstition.

I Shall not undertake to fix the *Epocha* of the Original of *Idolatry*, nor determine what Creature on this side the Highest Heaven, which is the Throne of the Great Creator of the World, was the first Object of Superstitious Worship; but I have great reason to believe, that when Religious Adoration was first transferr'd from the True God, it was given to the Heavenly Bodies, to the *Sun* and *Moon*, they being the most illustrious Visible part of the Creation, and for ought that any Man, the oldest in the World, could remember or know (further than Revelation gave him infallible Instruction) might be, as they have continued Unchangeable and Incorruptible in their Nature, so Eternal in their Duration, they having been made and fix'd in their glorious Spheres, before the first Man's Breath was breath'd into his Nostrils from Above: Whereas the

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older Heathens knew the Pedigree, and the times of the several Births of their *Saturns* and *Jupiters*, and the whole Race of Gods derived from them; their first Books of Heathen Divinity being written upon the Subject of the *Theogony*, or the Generation of their Gods.

But besides the Antiquity of their Original, their Usefulness and Beneficence to the World was another Encouragement to the Worship of the *Sun* and *Moon*; (and if we examine the late Pretensions of *Polytheism*, we shall find, that in a great part it proceeded from this Belief, That such and such Persons having been Benefactors to the World in many useful Inventions, they were for those Reasons, after their deaths, Deify'd and ador'd.) For what greater Blessings were the Heathens sensible of, than what the *Sun*, and, in a less degree, the *Moon* bestowed, who not only distinguish'd the Seasons of the Year (the variety of which are necessary to the Productions of the Earth, and the growth of Animals) and regulated the Computations of Time, but gave to all Creatures Health and Vigour, and the Preservatives of Life; Light, the first Blessing

Blessing the World ever saw, and the truest Emblem of the Divinity; and Heat, and genial Warmth, to cherish and Promote the Ease of Mankind, which also produc'd all things necessary for Life, form'd Minerals in the Bowels of the Earth, and regulated the Motions of the Sea.

And when some of the most ancient of the Eastern Sages, finding some Discords in Nature, which they could not reconcile, agreed to assert two First Principles of Good and Evil, yet they chose the *Sun* to represent Both (as a common Agent in both their Names;) because when the *Sun* was in their Horizon, they were Partakers of its Light, and its Heat; but when it retir'd, they were cover'd with Darknes (unless supplied by the *Moon*) because his Influences gave Life, and promoted the Generation of Animals, but his Absence introduced Corruption and Death. And to preserve the remembrance, since the *Sun* was not always in view, the Orientals maintained an Unextinguish'd Fire to represent it (nothing here below coming so near to the Image of that great Light, as *Fire*.) Nor did those

Sages believe those glorious Planets to be meer Machines fix'd to their Orbs, but, as the *Platonists* talkt of Intelligences, who mov'd those great Bodies, so they thought them the Residences of the Divinity (the *Sensible Sun* to be the Seat of the *Intellectual Sun*.) And so the *Manichees*, who had their two first Principles from the *Persian* Magi, aver'd, that our Blessed Saviour dwelt in the *Sun*: And therefore they, contrary to the Christians of those early Ages, who constantly and at all times ador'd toward the *East*, directed their Worship toward the *Sun*, in what part soever of the Heavens he was, believing that to be the Tabernacle fix'd for our Blessed Lord, in which he liv'd and mov'd. And among the *Egyptians* (between whom and the *Persians*, or *Chaldeans*, there was a Dispute for Seniority in the Schools of ancient Learning) they had a Tradition, That the first Books of Religious Worship were given to them by a Hawk, who brought them to the Priests of *Egypt* from the *Sun*, whose Bird the Hawk was, and by which they represented that noble Planet; as they did also *Venus*, says *Horapollo*.

And

And its unquestionable to me, that *Baal*, *Moloch*, *Milchom*, *Rimmon*, *Chemosh*, *Chiun*, *Nisroch*, *Nergal*, and several other Deities mention'd in the Sacred Writings; as also *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, *Osiris*, *Belus*, *Apollo*, *Mithras*, *Marnas*, &c. were no other than the *Sun*: as *Astarte*, *Urania*, *Isis*, *Milytta*, *Alilath*, *Cybele*, *Juno*, *Lucina*, *Diana*, and *Venus*, were no other than the *Moon*. The *Phœnicians* call'd the *Sun*, *μὸν θεὸς οὐρανὸς* (says *Philo Byblius*) The only God of Heaven, who hears all Mens Prayers, and inspects all their Wants, says *Orpheus*, (and from *Orpheus* the *Pythagoreans*, as from *Pythagoras* the *Platonists*, and other *Greeks*, receiv'd their Knowledge of the Gods, says * *Proclus*, out * In *Plat.* of *Pythagoras* himself; Ἄνωθεν γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος *Timæum*, ἡ Ὁρεμὴς παραδόσεως διὰ Πυθαγόρου καὶ εἰς Ἑλλήνας ἡ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιστήμη *p. 289.* *prophylæon*.) The *King*, says *Julian* (i. e. *Moloch*) the Governor of all Things. And the *Moon* is call'd the *Queen of Heaven*, in Holy Writ; and the *Mother of the World*, in *Alexander* of *Aphrodisias*, and *Plutarch*. For though the Heathen Deities were worshipt differently in different Countreys,

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and

Oregeon.
l. 1. c. 9.
p. 14.

and under different Names, they had all relation to the same thing, says *Artemidorus*, (Ἄλλοι ἢ ἄλλως πυνῶσι θεῶς· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἀναφορᾷ ἔχουσιν πάντες.) And this I shall briefly prove.

* Ad Auto-
lic. l. 3.
p. 282.

That the *Sun* is described under that variety of Names, is plain from the ancient Writers and Inscriptions: *Saturn* was the *Sun*, says * *Theophilus*; (the *Orientals* worshipt *Saturn*, whom they call'd *Bel*, or *Baal*; and these *Orientals* were the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, says *Damascius*, in the *Life of Isidorus*, † who call'd *Saturn*, *El*, *Bel*, and *Bolathus*; and no Man doubts but *Bel* was the *Sun*:) And so was *Jupiter* in the Esteem of the same *Syrians*, says || *Macrobius*; *Affyrri quæque Solem sub nomine Jovis, quem Δία Ἡλιοπολίτιν nominant, maximis ceremoniis celebrant in civitate, quæ Heliopolis nuncupatur*; (who, in the *Palmyrene* Inscriptions, is called *Zeus* Βῆλ, in others, *Zeus* Ἡλ.) And *Herodotus* says, the *Persians* called the whole Circle of the Heavens, i. e. the Course of the *Sun*, *Jupiter*. And from the Coins we learn, that the Antients had their Πάνδημον

Zeus,
(...)

Zeus, i. e. the *Sun*; as well as their Πάνδημον Ἀργεῖτην, the *Moon*. * *Ma-^{Par. 1.}lela* informs us, "That *Mars* was ^{p. 20.} *Baal*; That the *Affyrians* erected a Pillar at first to *Mars*, whom in the days of *Justinian* they continued to worship, calling him, in the *Persian* Tongue, the God *Baal*, i. e. *Mars* the *Warlike*. (Though *Jamblichus* avers, that *Azizus*, i. e. *Mars*, among the *Syrians*, was but one of the *Assessors*, or *Attendants* of the *Sun*.) No Man doubts but that *Apollo* was the *Sun*; (and as it was customary to hang up Tables of extraordinary Cures, with the Method of Cure, in the Temple of *Æsculapius* at *Coos*; so was it usual, at *Heliopolis*, to do so in the Temple of the *Sun*: For † *Nicolaus Myrepsus* says, † C. 121. that the Medicine called *Climax Hermaicus* was transcribed from the Original preserv'd in the Temple of the *Sun* at *Heliopolis*, written in the *Cilician* Characters.) And so was *Adonis*, says || *Macrobius*, (*Adonim Solem esse non dubitabitur, inspectâ religione Affyriorum, apud quos Veneris Architidis, & Adonis maxima olim veneratio viguit, quam nunc Phœnices tenent*) worshipt

|| *Satur.*
l. 1. c. 21.

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both

both by the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*. Now *Adonis*, among the *Phœnicians*, signifies a *Lord*, Ἀδωνις δεσπότης, says *Hesychius*; i. e. *Adonai*, among the *Jews*; among the *Syrians*, *Moloch*; but by the *Egyptians*, *Tammuz*. *Mercury* (the *Syrian Mocimus*, in *Jamblichus*) was one of the Attendants of the *Sun*; and so was *Hercules*; as *Mnevis* and *Apis* were sacred to the *Sun* and *Moon* in *Egypt*, and *Anubis* was reckon'd of his Guard, (Τὸν Ἀνεβιν Ἀγυῶνιοι τὴν Ὀσίερα φέρων ποιεῖσι, says *Proclus*;) as the *Bætuli* in *Syria* were reckoned his Assistants, says *Damascius*: And such, I suppose, were *Jaribolus*, and *Malachbelus*, and *Alagbelus* (or *Elabelus*, as it is written in the Inscriptions) at *Palmyra*: not the *Summer* and *Winter Sun*, as *Mr. Selden*; nor the *Sun* and *Moon*, as *Mr. Halley*; but *Dii Patrii*, or *Penates*, Assistants to the *Sun*. For the *Sun* was reputed the King of Heaven, surrounded with numerous Guards, and a Crowd of Attendants, (called, in Holy Writ, the *Host of Heaven*;) the Signs of the *Zodiack* were reckon'd his Assistants; and the *Planets*, his Liegemen, his Παῖδες φέρουσι, or *Mace-bearers*, says our very

In Plat.
Polit. p.
417.

very learned *Selden*, out of the Antients; and 'tis considerable, that most of his Names among the Orientals, were rather expressive of his Dignity, than his Nature, as *Baal*, *Moloch*, *Mithras*, *Marnas*, *Adonis*, and the like, which are all Titles of Honour and Authority.

And if *Jupiter Thalassius* were the Heathen *Neptune*, then *Neptune* was the *Sun*; Θαλάσσιος Ζεὺς ἐν Σιδῶνι τιμᾶται, says *Hesychius*; He was worshipt at *Sidon*: And 'tis well known, that the *Sun* was the God of the *Sidonians*. And *Nonnus*, in his *Dionysiaca*, Lib. II. says Βῆλ' ἐπ' Εὐφράτῳ, &c. That he was called *Belus* by the *Syrians* (the Inhabitants of *Euphrates*, at *Palmyra*, and thereabout,) *Ammon* in *Lybia*, *Apis* in *Egypt*, *Saturn* among the *Arabs*; but among the *Assyrians*, *Jupiter*, Nor was *Pluto* a different Deity, says the Emperor *Julian*, whose excellent Oration in Praise of the *Sun* is well worth reading,

Εἰς Ζεὺς, εἰς Αἰῶνος ἡλῖος ἐν Σαράπῳ.

That *Sarapis* also was the *Sun*, is plain from what is already said, and from

- * XXII. from the old Inscription in * Gruter, 10, 11. Ζεὺς ἡλιῶ μέγας Σάραπης. And † *Malela* says, that *Theodosius* caused to be shut up at *Alexandria* (τὸ ἱερόν τῆ Σεράπιδος ἡλίου) the Temple of *Serapis the Sun*. That the Persian *Mithras* was the same Deity, no Man doubts. *Xenophon*, who had been in that Countrey, says that they swore by *Mithras the Sun*. And the ancient Inscription in || Gruter is dedicated Ἡλίου Μίθρα ἀνικητῶ. And whereas *Damascius* says, that at *Heliopolis*, the Image of *Gennæus*, in the Temple of *Jupiter*, was worshipt in the Figure of a *Lion* erect; what does it represent, but the *Mithræ Leones*, of which *Tertullian* treats? so was *Bel. Serv. in Æn. I. Lingua Punicæ Bel dicitur apud Assyrios autem Bel — & Saturnus, & Sol.* And *Zosimus* says, that when *Aurelian* had built a noble Temple at *Rome* to the Honour of the *Sun*, he placed in it Ἡλίου τε καὶ Βήλου ἀγάλματα, read it Ἡλίου τε καὶ Βήλου ἀγάλματα) the Images of the *Sun*, who was *Belus*, which he had brought with him from *Palmyra*: This *Bel* was the same with the *Deus Belenus* of the *Germans*, and the *Abellip* of

Oeconom.
c. 8.

|| XXXIII.
9.

L. I. f. 56.

of the ancient *Gauls*, and accordingly they offer'd Humane Sacrifices to him: *Hominem optimam, & gratissimam Diis victimam*, says * *Mela* of the old * L. 3. c. 2. *Gauls*. Thus was *Moloch* worshipt among the *Jews*, *Edomites*, and others, who sacrificed their Children to the Idol. The same Oblation did the *Africans* make to *Saturn*; and *Elagabalus* the Emperor, to his Country God *Alagbaal* his Namesake, says † *Herodian*.

† In Pseud.
Anton. l. 5.

That *Osiris*, *Omphis*, and *Nilus*, were different Names of the same glorious Luminary, our learned Mr. *Selden* hath undeniably proved. And so was *Orus*, says *Horapollo*, (Ἡλιῶ) ὁ δ L. I. Hie-
Ἦρῶ.) In short, *Julian* says, that ^{rog.} all the several Names of the Heathen Gods were expressive in a different manner of the Glory of the *Sun*; Τί ἐν ἐπι σοι Ὄρον λέγω, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Θεῶν ὀνόματα καὶ πάντα ἡλιῶ προσήκοντα. Nor did the *Arabs*, in the time of *Alexander the Great*, worship any other Gods but the *Heaven*, i. e. the *Sun* and *Bacchus*, says || *Arrian*, [or rather *Bacchus* * L. 7. de
and *Urania*, as *Herodotus*, and *Celsus* ^{Exped. Alex.} in *Origen*, affirm, i. e. the *Sun*, and the
Moon;

* *Auson.*
Epigr. 29.

Moon; for *Bacchus* was no other than * *Osiris*, and *Adonis*,] the *Island of Nofala*, and some other whole Countries, being dedicated to his Service. In *Palestine* they devoted Horses and Chariots to his Honour, to denote the Swiftneſs of his Motion, 1 *King.* 23. and they worſhipt him toward the Eaſt, the Riling-Sun, *Ezek.* 8. turning their Backs upon the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, which was toward the Weſt. His Feſtival was celebrated with great Pomp, ſays *Julian*; his Birth-Day was celerated on the 25th. of *December*, ſays the old *Calendar*, and his Day of the Week, at *Antioch*, was dedicated, in their higheſt Solemnities, to the nobleſt Exerciſes, the Horſe-races, ſays *Malala*. And when the Heathens ſwore with the greateſt gravity, they call'd him to witneſs the Truth of what they ſaid; Ὁμνῶ Δία, Γῆν, Ἡλίον (not διὰ γῆν, as it is publiſh'd,) *I ſwear by Jupiter, the Earth, the Sun, and the other Gods*. And this I mention, that I may take leave to mention

Marm.
Oxon. 1.

† *Edit.* Ox. another ſuch Correction in † *Ariſteas*; *P.* 7. Τὸν γὰρ πάντων ἐπὶ πῆν καὶ κτιστὸν Θεὸν ἔπι σέβον, ὃν καὶ πάντες, ἡμεῖς δὲ μάλιστα, προσνομάζοντες ἑτέρως Ζῆνα καὶ Δία, ἔπας, &c. (not διὰ ἔπο;) for if ſo, it ſhould be διὰ τῆτο, &c. The

The *Moon* was reputed the Siſter and Wife of the *Sun*, as *Juno* was of *Jupiter*; and the ſame with *Venus*, ſays *Philochorus*, in *Macrobius*. Now, *Venus* was a very comprehensive Name among the Antients, ſays * *Ptolemy*, The *Syrians* * *Tetrabib.* worship *Venus*, as the Mother of the ^{l. 1.} Gods, (πομῖλοις, καὶ ἑλχαιόις ὀνόμασι προσαγορεύοντες,) calling her by ſeveral Names in ſeveral Countries. And *Plutarch* affirms, that the Goddeſs of *Hierapolis* was by ſome called *Venus*; by others, *Juno*; by a third ſort, *Nature*, that gave Beginning and Seeds to all Things: By the *Aſſyrians*, *Arabs*, and *Persians*, ſhe was ador'd under the Name of *Urania*, ſays † *Herodotus*: And in † *Lib.* 3. *Africa*, ſays || *Tertullian*. And ∴ *Apu-* || *Apologet.* *leius* calls her *Dea Cæleſtis magna Jovis* ∴ *Lib.* 6. *germana*, & conjux. And ſo ſays *Plotinus*, (*Urania* was *Venus* and *Juno*, the Wife and Siſter of *Jupiter*.) And ſhe is called by ∴ *Herodotus*, Ἀσποδάχνη, ∴ *Lib.* 5. the Governeſs of the Stars, i. e. the Queen of Heaven. (And for this reaſon the *Egyptians* accounted it abſurd to call *Heaven*, Οὐρανός, by a word of the Maſculine Gender; they ſtyling it *Urania*, becauſe the *Moon* governs all Things.)

Things.) And therefore *Elagabalus* the Emperor being himself called by the Name of the *Sun*, called his Wife *Urania*, as if they had been the *Sun* and *Moon*. * *Lucian* says, that the *Syrians* at *Byblos* (the next Town to *Hierapolis*, for this reason, in the Coins, called *Ἱερά*, the *Sacred Byblus*) worshippt *Venus* and *Adonis* with great Solemnity, and that the *Phœnician Astarte* was the *Moon*, (*τὴν Ἀστέριον*, *ἢ γὰρ Ἀποστήριον*, says *Procopius*, in 2 *King*. 17.) she being ador'd in *Syria* under that Name, in the days of † *Artemidorus*, i. e. under the *Antonines*, (*Ἰχθίας πύ- τις ἐδίδου πρὸς Συρίων πρὸς πρὸς τὴν Ἀστέριον σεβόμενων*.) And the above-mention'd *Lucian* says, that the *Juno* at *Hierapolis* (the Goddess of *Syria*) was of all Shapes, but still the same Goddess; she was in some Features like *Minerva*; in others, like *Venus*, the *Moon*, *Rhea*, *Diana*, *Nemesis*, and the *Destinies*. *Macrobius* says, that the *Syrians* worshippt *Adonis* (i. e. the *Sun*), and *Venus Architis* (i. e. the *Moon*.) Some Criticks read the word *Adargidis*; others, *Dercitidis*; but Mr. *Selden*, *Aphaciditis*. And it must be acknowledged,

* de Deâ
Syr.

† Ovesp.
l. i. c. 9.
p. 14.

Ubi sup.

knowledg'd, that *Venus* was solemnly worshippt at *Aphaca*, a Place not far from *Hierapolis*; and so probably was she at *Arca*, a City in *Syria*, not far from *Aphaca*, and near both *Hierapolis* and *Byblus*, the Place where *Alexander Severus* was born, says * *Lampridius* * P. 114, 118. (who in one place calls it *Urbs Arcena*; in another, *Arca Cæsarea*) one of the In-land † Cities of *Phœnicia*. So that † *Ptol.* l. 5. I think the words in *Macrobius* need not correction: for as from *Aphaca* is derived *Aphacitis*; so from *Arca*, *Arcitis*. *Venus* being the known Deity of all that Country, || *St. Austin* wonders || De C. D. l. 4. c. 10. why the Heathens should account *Vesta* and *Venus* the same, while the one was the Goddess of Chastity, the other the Patroness of Lewdness: But his Admiration would have ceas'd, had he consider'd, that the same Mock-Divinity was represented under those different Names. That *Isis*, *Lucina*, *Diana*, *Hecate*, &c. were the *Moon*, is prov'd by Mr. *Selden*: And though *Athens* were *Minerva's* own City (and she the Patroness of Modesty,) yet *Theseus* their Founder commanded the Citizens to worship *Πάνδημον Ἀρεστήριον*, says * *Pausanias*, * *Attic.* p. 20.

* Vit. Py-
thag. l. 1.
c. 28.

sanias, the same, I suppose, with *Pallas*. The *Pythagoreans* sacrificed to *Venus* (i. e. the *Moon*) on the Sixth Day of their Week, i. e. *Friday*, says * *Jamblichus*; a Day sacred also among the *Arabs* (being dedicated to their *Urania*) long before *Mahometanism* prevail'd among them. And lest the *Moon* should be treated with an inferior Worship, and appear without Attendants, the Antients offer'd Immortal Fire to Her, as well as to the *Sun*, says *Julian*, and gave her a *Paredrus*, or Companion; Τύχων ὁ περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Θεός, in *Hesychius*; the Τύχην Ἀγαθὴν *Sors Lunæ*, says Mr. *Selden*; but *Macrobius* says, that Τύχην is the *Moon* herself.

Satur. l. 1.
c. 19.

And it is to be observ'd, that the Antients allow'd not of Sexes among their Gods; or rather, thought every God of both: Hence *Orpheus* calls the *Moon*, Ἀρρηνόθηνλος. And so is *Bacchus* styled,

Ἀρρηνὰ καὶ θήλυι διφυσὶ Λύσσειον Ἴακχον.

And *Calvus* the old Poet, in *Macrobius*,
Pollentémque Deum Venerem.

And the *Deus Lunus* was famous in the East,

East, worshipt at *Carraë* in *Mesopotamia* (on whose Coins a *Cock* is stamp, because he was Ἰκέτης καὶ Ἰερός τῶ μῆνι, says * *Jamblichus* in the esteem of the * *Vit. Pyth. Pythagoreans*, Μῆνη καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, l. 1. c. 18. sacred to the *Sun* and *Moon*.) at *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, at *Nisa* in *Caria*, at *Gaba* in *Galilee*, at *Juliopolis* in *Bithynia*, at *Magnesia* in *Asia*, at *Sættæ* in *Lydia*, and at *Sibiduda* in *Phrygia Salutaris*, as the Coins in *F. Harduin* expressly declare.

It is highly probable, that the Worship of the *Sun* was the Religion of the *Chaldeans*, in *Abraham's* time, when God rescued that learned and devout Patriarch from the Prejudices of his Education, and the Persecutions of his Adversaries; (and if the Sacred Rites of the *Chaldeans* had their Original in *Egypt*, and were thence transplanted into the East, the Idolatry begun much earlier :) But this we are sure of, that the first Account that is given us of Idolatry, in the oldest Book in the World, the oldest, at least, that is come to the hands of the Men of the later Ages (the Book of *Job*, which, I may presume, was penn'd before the History

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of

* Job 31.
26, 27.

History of the *Creation* it self) is that of the Worship of the *Sun* and *Moon*, of * *worshipping the Sun in his splendour, and the Moon walking in her brightness*, long before any of the Heathen *Saturns* or *Jupiters* could enter their claim, they all having been born long after *Job's* time. And the Form of Adoration there mention'd is very ancient (*Kissing the Hand, and paying Obedience*;) which is naturally render'd by *Προσκύνησις* and *Adoratio*, among the *Greeks* and *Latins*. And when the *Jews* turn'd Idolaters, they are said, *Judg.* 10. to worship *Baalim* and *Ashteroth*, that is, in the *Punick* Language, says *St. Augustine*, the *Jupiters* and *Juno's* of the Heathen World; by which he cannot mean other than the *Sun* and *Moon*: For *Jupiter* and *Juno*, in the Age just after *Joshua*, were not then in Embryo; and when the Gentiles of succeeding Ages, the latter School of the *Platonists* (who were great Admirers of the *Orphick* and *Pythagorean* Rites) asham'd of the Accounts which the old Poets gave of their Gods, turn'd all the Story of *Homer* and *Hesiod* into Mythology; they still continued the Worship of those glorious

glorious Planets. With what Pomp and Ceremony of Eloquence doth *Julian* the Apostate Emperor treat of this Subject, in his Hymn written in Praise of the *Sun*, styling him, the *King of all the World*, the *Most Divine Prince*, and the *Common Father of Mankind*, (*Anrelian* calls him a Deity that he was sure of, *Deus certus Sol*.) and, that all things, from one end of the World to the other, were govern'd by his Providence; affirming, that for his own part, he had from a Youth a great regard for him; and that at *Constantinople* they kept an Annual Feast, and offer'd Sacrifices to his Honour. Nor does he forget the *Moon*, who was solemnly worshipt at *Athens* after his time: For * *Marinus*, in the Life of *Proclus*, informs us, that when *Lachares* and *Syrianus*, upon the first appearance of the *Moon*, did adore the Goddesses (*ἡ πόσις καὶ ἡ θεὰ*) that *Proclus* retiring a little way from them, put off his Shoes (another Custom and Rite of Religious Worship, as old at least as *Moses*, when he convers'd with God in the Bush, continued by the *Platonists*, in compliance with the Rule of *Pythagoras*,

thagoras, Οὐδὲν ἤνεν ἀνυπόδετον, that he who would sacrifice, ought to discalceate,) and then saluted, i. e. ador'd the Deity, L. 4. p. 245. (ἡσυχάζετο ἢ Οὐρανόν.) And when Zosimus the Pagan Historian studiously aggravates the Severity of the Edict of Theodosius, who destroy'd all the Heathen Temples and Images, he subjoins, that it was very dangerous for any Man, at that time, to assert the Rights of Paganism; to affirm that the Heathen Deities were Gods, or so much as to look up to Heaven, and to worship the Sun and the Moon (ὡς τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς παύματα προσκυνεῖν.) And at this day, among those poor Savages who inhabit the remotest part of Earth, in Greenland, and other Parts of the North, if they have any Religious Ceremonies, any Object of Worship, they bow down to the *Rising-Sun*, and acknowledge its Divinity: As in like manner the old Scythians, with whom one continued Night, as in *Greenland*, lasted half the Year, worshipt *Apollo*, says *Mela*. Nor could the Christians easily be weand from this Custom at *Rome*, a long time after Christianity had prevailed there; for many of them, in the days of Pope

Pope *Leo the Great*, when they came into the Church of *St. Peter*, as they went up the Steps that led to the Altar, turning themselves about, bow'd their Heads, and worshipt the *Rising-Sun*. Ser. 7. de Nativitat. Christi.

This Worship was objected to the Jews, in the days of the first Roman Emperors, by *Petronius* and *Juvenal*, that they worshipt nothing but the *Clouds*, and the *Sun*, (for so I render *Cæli Numen*,) i. e. in the Sacred Style, the *Host of Heaven*. And in the Reign of *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, the *Cælicolæ* were a new upstart Sect of Superstitious Votaries (*Nomen inauditum quodammodo novum crimen superstitionis vindicantes*, in the words of the *Law*) called *Cælicolæ*, says the Collector of the *Synopsis Βασιλικῶν*, because they worshipt the *Heavens* (Σεβομένους ἢ Οὐρανόν) who had their separate Places of Meeting, their different Rites, and distinct Ministers of their Religious Ceremonies: But whether they were Jews, the remains of the old *Essens*, as some affirm, (though the *Law* seems to me plainly to distinguish the *Cælicolæ* from the Jews,) or some *Christian* Hereticks, the Progenitors of the *Euchitæ* (as others

Cod. l. i. tit. 9. §. 12.

affirm, though the *Law* also seems to distinguish them, when it makes them liable to the same Penalties with Hereticks,) or rather some of the Remains of the old Heathens, who renounc'd their *Saturns* and *Jupiters* (whose Divinities they could not vindicate; because whatever is God, must be Eternal) but stuck to the Worship of the *Sun* and *Moon*, as the later *Platonists* did, because they believed them Eternal, and of the same Duration with the Supreme Being, I will not undertake to determine.

Considering what hath been already asserted, I think it needs not much more Proof, that *Syria* was eminently famous for the Worship of the *Sun* and *Moon*. In *Syria*, 'tis most probable, that this Idolatry either had its first Original, or its most immediate Propagation; and there it continued till *Paganism* breath'd its last in that part of the East, till the Followers of *Mahomet*, profess Enemies of *Polytheism*, made use of the Sword to extirpate it. The whole Country seem'd to be devoted to this Service; *Edeffa* is called the Region dedicated to the *Sun*, from the

E. 5m.

Beginnings of Time (*Ἰερόν ἔξ αἰῶνα ἱδὲ χροῖον*.) and so was *Hierapolis-Byblis* said to be consecrated to *Venus* and *Adonis*, and so was all *Phœnicia*. *Æschylus*, in his *Supplices*, styles *Phœnicia*, πᾶς Ἀφροδίτας πολύπυρον εἶαν, i.e. saith the Scholiast, because all the Coast about Mount *Libanus* was particularly addicted to the Worship of that Deity: The Worship begun in *Assyria* (or *Syria*;) from them the Men of *Ascalon* brought it into *Phœnicia*, and from them the *Cypriotes* deriv'd their Superstition.) And in the Emperor *Julian's* time, the *Moon* (the same with *Venus*, as I have already prov'd) was most solemnly worshipt at *Carræ*, and in all the adjacent Country; and their most illustrious Princes thought it not a diminution of their Honour to be Priests to their Gods; *Bassianus* and *Alexianus* (i. e. *Elagabalus*, and *Alexander Severus* his Brother) were both consecrated Priests of the *Sun*, tho' both reputed the Sons of *Caracalla* the Emperor, and their Mother was undoubtedly the Empress *Julia's* Sister, and themselves Candidates of the Empire, (and, as of old, the Eldest of the Family

Annian, Marcel. l. 23. c. 23.

Herodian. l. 5.

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was both Prince and Priest ; so *Herodian* affirms that *Bassianus* was consecrated to that Service, because the Office peculiarly belong'd to the Eldest Brother :) *Ithobalus*, or *Ethbaal* the King of *Tyre*, was the Priest of *Astarte*, says *Theophilus* : And when *Pompey*, having subdued *Mithradates*, distributed Kingdoms among the great Men of *Asia*, who had given him Assistance, he made *Archelaus* the Priest of *Venus*, in *Commagene* ; which entitled him to a Principality and Authority not inferior to the Royal Dignity, says * *Appian*. And what extraordinary Influence *Sampsigeramus* the Priest of the same Idol at *Emesa* had upon that Country, hath been already demonstrated.

How much addicted *Palmyra* was to *Venus*, who appointed Curators of her Fountain at *Nacle*, out of her most eminent Inhabitants, and what a glorious Temple was erected in that City to the *Sun*, so adorn'd and beautify'd, that *Aurelian* thought the Spoiles worthy his carrying to *Rome*, has been formerly mention'd ; and though that victorious Prince, in the heat of Action, could not prohibit his Soldiers the plundering and defacing

Ad Autolic.
p. 257.

* *Bell. Mithrad.* p.
251.

defacing that noble Structure, he soon after took care, though the rest of the City was left buried in its own Ruines, that the Temple should be re-edified ; *Vopisc. p. 219.* for *Aurelian* had a particular Veneration for the *Sun* (whose Figure appears often on his Coins,) his Mother had been the Priestess of *Apollo*, in the place where *Id. p. 213,* he was born ; and when his Affairs at *Emesa* (in his Engagement with *Zenobia*) were desperate, 'tis pretended that his Foot were encouraged to support his routed Horse, by an extraordinary Person whom he knew not at that time ; but when he return'd to *Emesa*, and went into the Temple of *Elagabalus* to give Thanks for his Victory, he there met the same Figure which had appear'd to him ; whereupon he founded a Temple in that City to the *Sun*, (a new Temple, without doubt ; for the Temple of the *Sun* was famous at *Emesa* before *Aurelian's* time, *Herod. ubi sup.* for its Beauty and Magnificence, its extraordinary Riches, and the Quality of the Votaries who sent their Offerings thither, the neighbouring Barbarous Princes every Year making their Presents to *Elagabalus*,) and another at *Rome*,

Zosim. l. 1. p. 56. *Rome*, upon which he bestow'd a vast Summ of Money, adorn'd it with the the Spoyles of the famous Temple at *Palmyra*, having at the same time offer'd his own unparallel'd Robe to the Deity.

In *Syria*, and the neighbouring Provinces, lived the Philosophers who kept up the Reputation of *Paganism*, when it was expos'd to the severest Prosecution of the Imperial Edicts: *Porphyry* was of *Tyre*; *Sopater* a *Syrian*; *Jamblicus* a Native of *Chalcis*; *Uranius* was of *Apamia*; *Eustathius* and *Ædemon*, *Cappadocians*; *Proclus* of *Lycia*; *Marinus* a *Samaritan* of the City of *Sichem*; *Damascius* of *Damascus*; *Simplicius* a *Cilician*; *Hermias* and *Dionigenes*, *Phœnicians*; *Isidorus* of *Gaza*, &c. And whatever progress Christianity might have made in other Places, it is plain, from the Epistle of *Julian* to *Libanius*, that Heathenism defended its Possession in *Syria*; for when that unhappy Apostate Emperor made his Expedition into *Persia*, from *Berrhœa* to *Batnæ*, all the Countrey was full of Sacrifices; the smell of Incense had perfume'd the Air; and at *Hierapolis* he met

met with more than a few who had been Confessors, in the former Reigns, for the Ancient Rites. In *Malela's* time, the *Assyrians* continued to worship *Mars*, or *Baal*; and whoever shall read *Damascius's* Life of *Isidorus*, may satisfy himself what Methods the Philosophers of those days used to support the Interest of Polytheism, what Visions they pretended to, what Magical Rites they used, and what Miracles were wrought in Confirmation of their Opinions; *Zosimus* affirming, that in his time a Globe of Fire hover'd up and down in the Air, about the Temple of *Venus*, at *Aphaca*, the Place whither the Men of *Palmyra* sent to learn their Fate, when *Aurelian* threaten'd them with Ruine, says that bigotted Advocate of Idolatry, who thus relates the Story; That when they having consulted the Oracle at *Seleucia*, in *Cilicia*, had received from thence a melancholy Answer, they sent to *Aphaca*, a Place situate between *Heliopolis* and *Byblus*, where the Temple of *Venus Aphacitis* stood: Near that Temple was a natural Fountain, that seem'd as if it had been made by Art; to this Fountain the People of that Countrey,

Country, at those Set-Times, when they met there, brought their Offerings, either of Gold or Silver, Silks, or Linnen Cloaths, or whatever else was of Value: If *Venus* was pleased with the Oblation, the Garments that were offer'd sunk to the bottom, as well as the heavy Metals; but if the Deity was displeas'd, all swam on the top of the Fountain; and that this Omen besel the Men of *Palmyra*, the Year when their City was destroyed. But the Oracular Fountain, that foretold the Ruine of *Palmyra*, could not secure it self from a like fate in a few Years after, under *Constantine the Great*, which *Eusebius*, the Church Historian, thus relates; That the pious Emperor having been inform'd, that the pretext of Religion, was only a cover for notorious Debaucheries, resolved to destroy all those Places that were destin'd to the Gratifications of the Flesh, particularly the famous Temple of *Venus* in *Phœnicia*: That on one part of the Mount *Libanus*, near the top of it, in *Aphaca*, a Grove and Temple had been consecrated to *Venus*, not in the middle of a City, or in the High-way, where the Amb-

Euseb. Vit. Constant. l. 3. c. 55. & Orat. de laud. Constant.

Ambition of the Heathens prompted them, for the most part, to build their Temples, but in a retired Place, remote from all Towns, and publick Roads, where a School of Lewdness was erected, where effeminate Men prostituted themselves to unnatural Lusts, in honour of the *Dæmon*; and the Female Sex, laying aside all regard to Modesty and Religion, devoted themselves to gratifie the irregular Desires of all Pretenders, they living without Control or Observation; because no vertuous Person durst approach the Place; till that illustrious Prince commanded his Soldiers to demolish the Temple, and so put a period to those abominable Practices, giving the Pagan Inhabitants truer Notions of Religion and Chastity: This, says *Eusebius*, was the Fate of that infamous Temple. But see the Malice and Disingenuity of a zealous Heathen: *Zosimus* affirms, that a miraculous Fire hover'd over the Place in his time. And *Damascius* tells strange Stories of *Vit. Isidor.* the same nature, in his days, of the Globes of Flame (the *Bætuli*) that frequently appear'd about Mount *Libanus*: That the Worship at *Aphaca* was in

Zosim. ubi
sup.

De Syr.
p. 658. &
ult.

in use before *Marcus Antoninus's* Reign, the *Palmyrene* Inscription demonstrates: The Solemn Meetings there were Annual, the Practices most execrable, Lust and Luxury making a great Figure in all their pretended Religious Ceremonies, especially in that Country, *Lucian* himself averring, that at *Byblus*, a very little way from *Nacle*, the Women who refused to cut their Hair in the time of their solemn Mourning for the Death of *Adonis*, were obliged for a whole Day to prostitute themselves to all Strangers; and whatever they got, was to be spent in a Sacrifice to *Venus*.

Euseb. de
loc. Hebr.

Aphaca was the Name of the Place, says *Zosimus* (*Ἀφακα χωριον.*) and *Eusebius* seems to be of the same Opinion (there being many Cities of that Denomination in *Syria*, one belonging to the Tribe of *Juda*, another to the Tribe of *Asher*, a third in the Coasts of the *Amorites*, a fourth a City of *Syria*;) but others, with greater probability, that the Name of the City was *Nacle*, (and of the Well *Aphaca*;) so says *Suidas* expressly, upon the Authority of *Christodorus*, who wrote the History of *Nacle*, or *Naclis*, (a Book which,

V. χειρὶ-
δωρ. &
V. Νάκλιν.

which, if extant, would have much illustrated this part of our History) that it stood near *Heliopolis*, and that the Rites called *Ἀφακα* (not *Ἀλφακα*, as it is in the printed Copy) were there performed. What is meant by *Ἀφακα*, the Lexicographer informs, that it is a *Etymol. M.* *Syriack* word, (in the *Arabick* it signifies *Præputium*, or *Vinculum*,) and that if it be fit to render such a word into *Greek*, it signifies (a) *Embraces*, *Venus* in that place embracing her Darling *Adonis*; and probably *Nacle* has a like signification.

[(a) Σύρων μὲν ὄρεν ἡ λέξις. δυνάμει δὲ καθ' Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν, εἰ δὲ τὸ δημῶδες εἰπεῖν ῥῆμα, πείλημμα, πείλα-
βός τις ἢ Ἀφροδίτης ἐκεῖ ἢ Ἀδωνιν, ἢ τὸ παρῶτιν, ἢ τὸ ἐχάτιν
πειβολῶ. Hence probably in *Hesychius*, Ἀφακας
εὐνῆδες, & Νάκλον Ἀφάδαρτον.]

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

An Account of Vaballathus.

HAVING, in the foregoing History, averr'd, that *Vaballathus* was not the Son of *Odenathus*, as the generality of Writers have attested; but the Grandson of that heroick Prince, as Monsieur *Tristan* and *F. Harduin* have affirm'd; I think my self obliged to give my Reasons for my Opinion; the *Roman* and *Greek* Historians of those times being either wholly ignorant of him, as, I think, *Trebellius Pollio*, *Zosimus*, and others were; or mistaken in his Pedigree, as *Vopiscus*, who is the only Author who mentions him, seems to be.

Transp. 88. That *Odenathus* had Grandsons before he assum'd the Purple, appears to me very plain from the *Palmyrene* Inscription, where *Septimius Odenathus* (the same, I believe, with the Emperor of that Name) at that time a Man of the illustrious Senatorian Order and Dignity,

nity, built a Monument for himself, his Sons, and Nephews, or Grandsons, (*αὐτῷ τε, καὶ υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐγγονοῖς.*) That those Nephews could not be the Offspring of *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, the Sons of *Zenobia*, is to me undoubted; because at their Father's Death they were very young, says the *Roman* Historian, (*Zenobia, quod parvuli* *Trebel. Pol. p. 180.* *essent filii ejus, qui supererant, Herennianus & Timolaus, ipsa suscepit imperium,*) and therefore may be supposed the Sons of *Herodes*, or *Herodianus*, whom *Odenathus* begat on a former Wife; and for these Reasons, and by the help of the Inscriptions, I am inclin'd to deduce the Line of that Family after the following manner:

T

NASO.

N his first Wife
 SEPTIMIUS O DENATHUS.
 I SEPTIMIA ZENOBIA his second Wife
 ATHENÆUS HERODES. SEPTIMIUS AIRANES. HERENNIA. TIMOLAEUS.
 HERMIAS VABALLATHUS.

NASORUS
 VABALLATHUS.
 AIRANES.

Daughters mar-
 ried at Rome to
 Persons of the
 Senatorian
 Dignity.
 Their Children
 at Rome, A. C.
 400.

I have

I have been encouraged to believe that *Odenathus* in the Inscriptions was the same Person with the Emperor of that Name, from his præ-Nomen *Septimius*, which cannot justly be presumed to have been used in the East, before the First Emperor of that Name made his Inroads into *Persia*. Now *Septimius Severus* died, *Anno Christi* 211, before which time *Odenathus* may well presumed to have been born, being murdered *Ann. Chr.* 267. and I have given him a second Son, from the Authority of the Inscriptions, where *Septimius Airanes*, a Man of the Con-
 Pag. 99.
 sular Dignity, is said to have been the Son of *Odenathus*, the Date of the Inscription confirming it, viz. *A. C.* 253. I have also adventured upon adjusting the Pedigree of his Ancestors, from the same Inscription, where *Septimius* is
 Pag. 88.
 said to be the Son of *Airanes*, the Grandson of *Vaballathus*, the Great-Grandson of *Nasorus* (according to the Method of the *Arabs*, who usually reckon'd their Descent after that manner;) for I cannot think *Airanes* to be the præ-Nomen of *Vaballathus*, since all their fore-Names were either *Roman*

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or Greek, to neither of which Languages *Airanes* belongs. I have also subscribed to the Opinion of *Tristan* and *Harduin*, that *Vaballathus* was the Son of *Herodes*; not only because *Herodes* is in the Coins represented with a Beard, which implies some Years beyond Youth, while *Vaballathus* has a very young Face, but because the Coins declare him to have continued Emperor, after *Zenobia* was conquer'd; and I am so far from thinking that his Mother-in-Law held the Empire in his Name, that I believe she prosecuted him, as she did his Father, that she might enthrone her own Children; the Subject, it must be confess'd, is much in the dark, and for want of Directions from the Antients, it is easie to be mistaken, but the luckiest Conjecturer in such Cases is the best Critick. It is plain from the Historians, that there were violent Contests between *Herod* and *Zenobia*, while *Odenathus* was alive (as it seldom happens that Mothers-in-Law look over-favourably on their Predecessor's Children) but that those Disputes serv'd only to advance the Son in his Father's Favour, who had declar'd him his Co-partner

v. *Tristan*.
Tom. 3. p.
208, 209.

partner (a little while after himself had been made Emperor) and consequently his Successor; and accordingly the Coins mention the third Year of his Reign, whereas *Odenathus* wore the Purple but four Years, being then murthered, and with him his Son *Herod*. Upon whose Death, I doubt not, but *Vaballathus* immediately assum'd the Imperial Title and Dignity, as in right he ought, and probably was confirm'd in his Pretensions by *Claudius* and *Aurelian*, (otherwise his Name and Titles could never have appear'd on the reverse of the Coins of *Aurelian*; for neither *Zenobia's* nor either of her Son's Name is found on any of the Imperial Coins of the *Romans*, because in open Hostility with them; which confirms me, that *Vaballathus* was not the Son of that great Queen,) his Fourth Year being coincident with the First, his Fifth with the Second of *Aurelian*, (which unquestionably proves him to have been Declared *Augustus*, as soon as his Father was dead;) but being convinced that *Zenobia* had made the Army firm to her Interests, and declar'd her own Sons Emperors, he fled to the *Romans* for

Goltz. The-
four. p. 73.

Protection, who being well assured of the Justice of his Title (his Grandfather *Odenathus* having been declar'd Emperor at *Rome*, whose right Heir *Vaballathus* was, whereas *Zenobia* had no such Pretensions) treated him with that Respect which those great Princes used to pay to distressed Monarchs; and I doubt not, but in Gratitude to his Patrons, he assisted *Aurelian*, not only with the Equity of his Cause, but with what Forces he could bring into the Field. In the Sixth Year of his Reign, he had the Satisfaction to see his Competitors conquer'd, and led Captive to *Rome*; and the Coins tell us, that he bore the Title of Emperor in the Fourth Year of *Aurelian*, which was the Seventh of *Vaballathus*, (ATT. K. OTABAAAAOOGGEB.LZ) which was the Year after *Palmyra* was ruin'd. From whence it plainly appears to me, that he was a Confederate of the *Romans* in that War, his Effigies and Titles being stamp'd on the reverse of *Aurelian's* Coins, that very Year that he undertook his Expedition into the East, as well as the Year after *Zenobia* was subdued; for that was a Privilege

privilege never granted but to those Princes who were in League with, and had done good Service to the *Roman Commonwealth*. So *Rhemetaces* King of *Thrace* is joyn'd with *Augustus*, and *Abgarus* the Toparch of *Edessa* with *Marcus Aurelius*, to demonstrate their being in the Interests of those Princes, but with some distinction in the Habit of the Head, or Crown, to denote their Subjection; for when *Vaballathus* wears a Wreath or Diadem, then *Aurelian* wears a Crown of *Lawrel*; but when *Vaballathus* wears a Crown of *Lawrel*, *Aurelian* wears a Crown radiated, or, as the Heralds call it, *rayonné*.

How long *Vaballathus* lived after the Eighth Year of his Reign, or what his Fate was, I know not; but I am enclined to believe that he sunk by degrees in the Favour of *Aurelian*, and being deprived of the Imperial Dignity, was forced to content himself with the meaner Title of King, or Viceroy, and that this happen'd in the two last Years of that Emperor; for to that Year I refer those Coins, wherein he is styled

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V A.

V. Fulv. *VABALATHUS REX.* — *VABAL-*
 Ursin, Not. *LATHUS REX UCRIM. P. P.* —
 ad Episc. *UCRIMOR — UCRIMP — UCRIMDR.*
 Auel. *— VERIMP. — VABALATHUS ITER.*
 Mezzob. *IMP. R.* — all which are Latin,
 Patin, Jud. s. 29. and consequently seem to be coin'd,
 not in the East, but somewhere nearer
 Rome, but all in the Reign of *Aurelian*;
 and from them I conjecture that *Au-*
relian, after he had settled his Autho-
 rity in *Syria*, destroy'd *Palmyra*, and
 put an end to the Pretensions of the
 Family of *Odenathus*, oblig'd *Vabal-*
lathus to decline the Title of Emperor,
 and to use that of the Imperial Vice-
 gerent in the East; and that this is
 implied in the Coins, where he is said
 to be *UCRIMOR* (wrongly in others
UCRIMDR, or *UCRIMP*) not *Vice Cæ-*
saris Rector Imperii Orientalis, as *F. Har-*
duin very ingeniously (because in *Au-*
relian's Age, and long before, *Cæsar*
 was a Title of Honour inferior to that
 of *Imperator*, *Ælius Verus* being the
 first who was declar'd *Cæsar*, but never
 was *Emperor*, the Title at that time,
 and in future Ages, being appropriated
 to the Heir Apparent of the Empire;
 so

Spart. p. 35.
 Capitolin.
 p. 24.

so that it should have been *Vice Impe-*
ratoris, as *Nemesius* is styled in * *Gruter*,) * Clxviii.
 but *Vir Clarissimus Rector Imperii Orien-* +
talis; for so the Governors of Pro-
 vinces were styled, in the Language of *Grut. CL. 9.*
 the Law, and in the old *Inscriptions*,
Fabius Maximus V. C. Rector. Prov. &c.
 This Province *Vaballathus* managed
 more than once, being said to be
ITER. IMP. R. i. e. iterum Imperii
Rector, a second time the Emperor's
 Vicegerent in the East; for such were
 the Toparchs of that Country (the
 Name demonstrates it, *Toparcha* is *Vicem-*
gerens,) which was in some Ages fill'd
 with those Roytelets: Such also were
Phylarchs of the *Arabians*, who held
 their Dignity at the pleasure of either
 the *Romans* or *Persians*, to whom they
 were subject. (Thus *Agrippa*, upon
 his Father's Death, was made Prince of
Chalcis; but when he had continued
 in that Government four Years, was *Joseph. An-*
 displaced by *Claudius*, but made Te- *tiq. l. 20.*
 trarch of *Iturea*, *Batanæa*, *Trachonitis*,
 and *Abilene*, to which the same Empe-
 ror afterwards added a part of *Galilee*.)
 But though their Territory was small,
 their Ambition commonly was very
 great,

C. 3, 5.

V. Har-
duin. Num.
p. 587.

* Ant. l. 18.
c. 7.

great, and the Titles which they affected very pompous, witness a Coin of *Antiochus* the Fourth, one of the little Princes of *Sebaste*, a corner of *Cilicia* erected into a Kingdom by *Vespasian*, says * *Josephus*, who styles himself βασιλ. μεγ. βασιλεὺς μέγας, the great King; and another of *Abgarus* on the reverse of *Severus*, with the same Title; it being very likely that *Vaballathus*, prompted by the like Vanity, styled himself *Vaballathus Rex Ucrim. P. P. Vaballathus* the King, and the Father of his Country, (as in a Latin Coin of *Zenobia*, whom *Theoderit*, who was of *Cyrrhestica*, a Province not far from *Palmyrene*, calls the Toparch of *Palmyra*; she is said to be Queen or Governors of all the East; *Zenobia Aug. totius Orientis R. i. e. Regina*, or *Regina*, as she styles her self in her Letter to *Aurelian*;) unless this Inscription intimates to us another change in his Fortune and Tenure, that he was constituted the Prince of that part of *Cyrrhestica*, whose chief City was *Urima* (in the Coins, by mistake, *Ucrima*, and *Verima*) situate on the *Euphrates*, between *Samosata* and *Edeffa*, near the

the Mid-way, and an Episcopal See.

Against this Opinion, that *Vaballathus* was the Grandson of *Odenathus*, the learned *Spanheim* musters all his Forces, and blames Monsieur *Tristan* for indulging too much to his own Wit and Conjectures, while *Vopiscus* says expressly that *Kaballathus* was *Zenobia's* Son, (If *Casaubon's* Notion, that it was only a fictitious Name, through mistake of the Greeks, who understood not the Syrian Language, needs no further Confirmation;) for which Opinion also *Salmasius* contends earnestly, the Credit of *Vopiscus* supporting it. But it is plain, that *Vopiscus* was deceived in that Paragraph, when he says, 'That *Zenobia* did not hold the Empire in the Name of *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, but of her Son *Vaballathus*. — expressly against the Assertion of *Trebellius Pollio*, who affirms the contrary; and of * *Vopiscus* himself, in another place, 'That *Zenobia* held the Empire of the East (*Nomine Filiorum*) in the Name of her Sons. — And that the Coins are an unquestionable Confirmation of this Truth, *Spanheim* himself confesses, in which the second and third Years of their

Dissert. 7.
de Usu &
Pr
Numism.
p. 597. &c.

Not. in Vo-
pisc. p. 380.

30 Tyr.
p. 198.

* P. 216.

their Empire is recorded ; and therefore (if any Manuscript would give countenance to the addition) I should think, with *Tristan*, that the word (*Herodis*) is left out, and that it should be read *Vaballathi Herodis Filii* ; or probably *Vopiscus* might mistake his Author, (for * he confesses, that he took all his Notices out of the Greek Writers,) and through haste, read *ὁ* for *ἡ*, and so translate *Filii* for *Nepotis*. But the placing the Head of *Vaballathus* on the reverse of *Aurelian's* Coins, is to me an unquestionable Evidence that he was not *Zenobia's* Son ; for I believe there cannot be one Instance produced of any Emperor who gave such an Allowance, but to a Friend and Confederate ; whereas *Zenobia* and her Sons were always in profest Enmity, and open War with the *Romans*, and the *Romans* with them, who were very eager, all through the Reign of *Claudius*, to have that haughty Queen subdued, and the Empire wrested out of her Hands. Nor will the Years of his Reign agree with this Opinion (if *Vaballathus* were carry'd a Prisoner to *Rome* with *Zenobia*, and *Zenobia* did not

* P. 209.

not reign above five or six Years ;) for those in *Goltzius* mention the Seventh Year of his Reign ; one of which was stamp'd at *Troas*, implying, that that City declar'd for his Interests, in the fifth Year of his Empire, the Year in which *Aurelian* went to the East ; and the Figure of *Hope* on the reverse of one of his Latin Coins, implies his Expectation to be restored by that puissant Prince, who had been so long kept out of his Right by his Mother-in-Law.

*Mauroceni
thes. c. 13.
p. 143.*

But *Spanheim* enforces his Opinion with a second Argument, That *Herod's* Name doth not appear in any of the Coins of *Vaballathus*, nor is there any Proof that *Herod* was ever call'd *Athenas*, or *Athenæus*. To which I answer in general, That it was the Custom of that Age and Country to have Two Names, the one Latin or Greek, the other Syriack, as *Septimius Odenathus*, *Hermias Vaballathus* ; so that it is not improbable, that *Herod* was call'd *Athenæus*, (*Athenas*, *Athenæus*, *Athenodorus*, from *Athene*, i. e. *Minerva*, as *Hermias* from *Hermes*, or *Mercury*.) I once thought, that *Athenæus*, by the transposing

Theſaur.
p. 73.

tranſpoſing the Letters (done by the Greek *Monetarij*, ignorant of Syriack) was put for *Ἡρώδης*, (by which Name *Malela*, the Syrian Writer, always calls *Odenathus*;) but from one of the Coins in *Goltzius*, *Οὐαβαλλάθου Ἀβίου*. Οὐ ---- I am enclinable to read it, *Οὐαβαλλάθου Ἀδριανῆος* *Οὐορῶδης*, *Herodes* and *Orodes* being the ſame Name; and always ſo written in the Inſcriptions. But of this Conjecture I muſt leave thoſe Perſons to be Judges, who have ſeen thoſe rare Coins, while I profeſs I was never ſo happy.

C H A P.

C H A P. VI.

An Account of Longinus.

HAVING accounted, as well as I could, for *Vaballathus*, I ſhall eaſily be pardoned by all the Lovers of Learning, if out of a due Reverence to the Memory of *Longinus*, I endeavour to adjust the Particulars of the Life of that admirable Man.

Who his Father was, we know not; it having been the fate of many other excellent Perſons, that the World hath been left ignorant of their Parents, or the Place of their Nativity; but his Mother's Name was *Frontonis*, the Siſter Snid. v. φρόντων of the famous *Fronto* (Nephew probably to the great *Plutarch*) by Birth of the City of *Emeſa*, by Profeſſion an Orator, who having, in the Reign of the Emperor *Severus*, fix'd his Reſidence at *Athens*, became a Competitor for Glory in his publick Exerciſes with *Philoſtratus* the Elder, and *Apſines* of *Gadara*, and died at *Athens*, leaving his Nephew *Longinus* the Critick his Heir.

Heir. Whether *Longinus* was born at *Palmyra*, as the Editor of his Book of the *Sublime* Conjectures, I know not; though it be not altogether improbable that his Mother, who was of *Emesa*, might marry at *Palmyra*, a City not far from it; though *Tanaquil Faber*, in his Edition of that excellent Treatise, from that Passage of *Vopiscus* in the Life of *Aurelian*, ("That *Longinus* " dictated the haughty Epistle of *Zenobia* to the Emperor *Aurelian*, tho' " it were written in Syriack —) would conclude, that *Longinus* was not born in *Syria*; and that those who determine that that Country was the Place of his Nativity, are confuted by *Vopiscus*.

He is usually called *Dionysius Longinus*, but for what reason, or from what Manuscripts, I know not; *Suidas* expressly calling him *Cassius*, though I rather think it should be *Casimus*, as it is in the old *Milan* Edition of that Lexicographer, when he reckons up the Authors out of whom he compiled his Work (Λογγίνος ὁ Κασμῖος) *Casimus*, *Abul Casimus*, and *Al-Casem*, being Arabick Names, that commonly occur in the Saracenick History.

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In his younger days he travell'd into many Countries to improve his Studies, (his Parents giving themselves the Satisfaction to travel with him, and to observe his Proficiency,) where he contracted an Acquaintance with the most learned Men of all Nations; who were the Ornaments of that Age, with *Euclides*, *Democritus*, and *Proclius* of *Troas*, the *Platonists*; with *Plotinus*, and *Gentilianus Amelius*, of the same Sect at *Rome*; with *Ammonius* and *Origen*, under whose Tuition he was a long time (probably at *Alexandria*; where also he acquir'd the Acquaintance of *Heliodorus* the *Peripatetick*;) with *Theodotus* and *Eubulus*, who kept up the *Platonick* Succession at *Athens*; with *Themistocles* and *Phebius*, the *Stoicks*; with *Annius* and *Medius*, with *Herminus* and *Lyfismachus*, with *Athenæus* and *Musonius*, of the same School at *Athens*; as also with *Ptolemy*, and another *Ammonius*, the *Peripateticks*.

Having thus gratify'd his Curiosity in his Travels, and furnish'd his Mind with the useful Learning of the Age, he fix'd at *Athens*, probably under the Tuition of his Uncle *Fronto*, who engaged

Ep. Longin.
apud Porph.
Vit. Plot.

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ged

Sect. 10.

Eunap. Vit.
Porphyrii.

ged him in the Study of *Philology*, where he soon discover'd his excellent Genius, and was reputed the most famous Critick of his time, his Judgment of Authors being so much valued, that it became the Standard of that learned Age; and every Book was either approv'd or condemn'd, as *Longinus* pronounc'd its fate. At *Athens*, I conjecture, he wrote his admirable accurate Treatise of the *Sublime*, upon the Importunity of his Friend *Posthumius Terentianus* (or, as some other Copies read it, *Florentianus*) to whom he dedicates it; for, speaking of the most celebrated Orator, he calls him, *our Demosthenes*, and reckons himself among the *Greeks*. At *Athens*, *Porphyry* became his Scholar, a Privilege much valued in that Age; for *Longinus* was reputed a living Library, his Province engaging him to consider and censure the Writings of the Antients. And there *Longinus* changed his Syrian Name *Malchus* into that of *Porphyrius* (as *Amelius*, upon the same dislike, call'd him *Basileus*) training him up in the Niceties of Grammar, and Rhetorick, and accomplishing his Juvenile Studies; and *Porphyry*, who himself was

an

an excellent Critick, calls him in gratitude (*ὁ ἐν κείνῳ πρῶτος ἀνὴρ, καὶ τιμω-
μενός*) the Prince of the Criticks, and the best Philologer of his Age: For if any Man had adventured to correct an ancient Writer, his Opinion never found Approbation, till it was confirm'd by the judicious *Longinus*. Nor was his whole time spent in Criticism; tho' *Plotinus*, toucht with a little Envy, for they did not agree in all their Sentiments, said he was a good Philologer, but not a Philosopher; for he profess himself a *Platonist*, and, as such, celebrated the Festival of *Plato* (probably his Birth-day) at *Athens*, according to the Custom of those Times, with great Solemnity, and gave himself up to that Allegorical way of Writing to which that Sect of Philosophers indulged; for from him, and *Numenius*, as well as from the Books of *Plato*, *Origen* learn'd his method of Allegorizing the Holy * Scriptures. How long he fill'd the * *Porphyry*.
Platonick Chair at *Athens*, or who suc-
ceeded him, I know not; as also, whe-
ther he ever lived at *Magnesia ad Si-
pylum*, or not, and were the *Prætor* of
that City, Successor, perhaps, to his

U 2 Uncle

*Porphyry. a-
pud Euseb.
Prepar.
l. 10.
Porph. Vit.
Plotini.*

* *Porphyry*.
apud Euseb.
*H. E. l. 6,
c. 19.*

V. Hæd.
Nummi.

Uncle *Fronto* in that Office ; since I find in the Coins of *Valerian*, Ἐπὶ σπ. Αὐρ. Φρὸντων Θ. Μαρτυρῶν Σι. h. e. Σιτυ-
λωνων (another *Aurelius Fronto* was *Prætor* of *Byzantium*, under *Alexander Severus* ;) and in another of *Gallienus*, Σεγ. Αὐγελος β'. Μαρτυρῶν Σιτυ. Nor can I fix the Year when he retired into *Syria*, and settled himself at *Palmyra*, where his Learning and Wisdom rendred him very illustrious, and capacitated him to assist *Zenobia* with his Counsels, till his death, and to educate her Sons in all good Literature. But though he gave himself to the Study and Practice of the Rules of Government, while he lived at *Palmyra*, as became a Privy-Counsellor to a great Queen, and there probably writ his Book of *Tadicks*, for the use of that warlike Empress ; yet he was far from deserting his other beloved Muses, but made diligent Enquiries after the Writings of all the learned Men of that Age, especially of *Plotinus*. The Country where he was, lay remote from the known Seats of polite Learning ; the People, in an active and contentious Age, were more addicted to Arms than Arts : And the
Language

V. Gesn.
Biblioth.

Porph. ubi
sup.

Language of *Palmyrene* was so very different from the usual learned Tongues, that he look'd about him a long time, till he could find a Copyist that understood so much Greek, as to enable him to translate the Works of *Plotinus* ; but having found a fit Man, he confin'd him to that Province, as himself relates in his Epistle to *Porphyry* : Such a Value did he put on the Works of that profound *Platonist*, tho' he did not agree entirely with him, and took an occasion to write against him and *Amelius*, expressing at the same time a deep Veneration for them both. He encouraged *Amelius* to visit the *East*, and of him purchased all *Plotinus's* Works : And having heard that *Porphyry*, by his Abstinence, and other Severities, had impair'd his Constitution, he invited him also very earnestly to come to *Palmyra*, assuring him that that Air would repair his ruin'd Health, and kept up his Correspondence with his old Friends to the day of his death : And there also he wrote his *Panegyrick* upon *Odenathus* (probably upon the Death of that heroick Emperor) which *Libanius* was so fond of ; but whether

he compos'd any of those Books at *Palmyra*, either in Critick (for he censur'd both Poets and Orators) or Philosophy, the loss of which the learned World bewails, is uncertain: This we know, that that haughty Epistle which *Zenobia* sent to *Aurelian*, when he required her to resign her Authority, was said to be dictat'd by this great Man, the Resentment of which gave occasion to his death; for that severe and proud Emperor hated any thing that seem'd to check his Power, or ruffle his ambitious Thoughts.

So fell the admirable *Longinus*, to the grief of all good Men, who bemoan his fate, and the loss of his excellent Writings, most of which, in all likelihood, perisht when *Palmyra* was destroy'd. I had some Intentions to have subjoyn'd an Account of his Works, but I supersede that Disquisition, as foreign to my present Design, till some other Occasion offers.

C H A P.

C H A P. VII.

*A short Commentary on the
Inscriptions.*

I Have digested the *Inscriptions*, not as they are set down in the *Journal*, where they are placed as they incidentally fell under the Traveller's Eye, but under their several Heads, to which they seem reduceable. And first I begin with the *Sepulchral* Inscriptions, the Epitaphs inscribed upon the Tombs of the People of *Palmyra*.

I.

Τὸ μνημεῖον τῶ παρῶν ἐκτισεν ὁ
ἴδιον Σεπλίμου Ὀδανᾶθ ὁ λαμωρό-
τατος συνλητ[μος] Αἰεᾶνς Οὐαβαλ-
λάδου τῶ Νασώρῃ ἀπὸς τε καὶ υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ
υἱοῖς εἰς τὸ πάντελες αἰώνιον τελευτῶ.

Which may be thus rendred :

*Monumentum sepulchrale propriis sump-
tibus condidit Septimius Odenathus emi-
nentissimus Senator, Aëranis filius, Va-*

U 4

ballathi

*ballathi nepos, Nasori pronepos, & sibi,
& filius suis. & nepotibus in perpetuum,
in honorem sempiternum.*

This Inscription contains an Account,
“ That *Septimius Odenathus*, the most
“ excellent Senator, had erected that
“ Monument for himself and his Poste-
“ rity, to preserve their Name for ever.
And he hath hitherto had his Wish, the
Monument having escap’d the Fury of
Time, the Rage of the *Roman Soldiers*,
and the Madness of the superstitious
Arabs, who are profess’d Enemies to all
the remains of venerable Antiquity.
That this *Septimius Odenathus* was the
same illustrious Person who afterward
* P. 273. was declar’d Emperor, I suppose, * I have
already prov’d to be very probable.

Ταφειον occurs not in the Lexicon,
but signifies a Place of Burial. The
Place is the Sepulchre, the *Epigraphe*
the Monument, says † *Servius*; *Operis
extructio sepulchrum, nomen inscriptura
monimentum*; but a *Mausolæum* con-
tain’d many Sepulchres, as one Se-
pulchre might include many Monu-
ments; the Tomb being built very
often (as our Vaults) for the service of
the

† In 3. *Æ-
neid.*

the whole Family, as this of *Odenathus*
was erected for himself, his Sons and
Nephews; others, for the Owner, his
Children and Servants, &c. whereas
whosoever laid violent Hands on him-
self, was to be buried alone, and with-
out an Inscription: The shorter the
Epitaph, the more honourable it was
accounted, so it contained the Atchieve-
ments of the Person there deposited, it
was not to exceed four Heroical Verses,
says *Plato*, (*μὴ πλείω τεττάρων ἡρωϊκῶν
στίχων*.) and of this kind (*i. e.* very
short) are the *Palmyrene* Inscriptions.
But the Men of *Sicyon* chose a much
shorter Method, inscribing only the
Name of the Dead Person (not men-
tioning so much as his Father’s Name)
and wishing him Joy; while the *Pal-
myrenians* inserted their Pedigree to
four or five Generations past. By such
Monuments the Antients thought to
perpetuate their Memory to Eternity,
and for this reason the Grave is com-
monly called *Domus Æterna*, *Domus* v. *Gruter.*
Perpetua, *Domus Æternalis*, and *Se-* *Passim.*
pulchri Perpetui Honor; and what is
in this Inscription said to be done *εἰς τὸ
παντελὲς αἶανον τιμῶ*, is in another
Monu-

*Plato, l. 9.
de Legib.*

*Pausan.
l. 2.*

Monument said to be, *μνημείον αἰώνιον γέρας*. And with their own Names they inserted those of their Progenitors, that they also might be enrolled in the Annals of Honour. And they often took care to inscribe the Epitaph in several Languages, that other Nations might be thereby instructed in the Name and Vertues of the Dead, (and perhaps, that they might preserve some remains of their native Language likely to be supplanted and forgotten.) Thus, when *Philip* had slain the Emperor *Gordian*, the Army buried him at *Circeia Castra* (or *Circesium*) in the Confines of *Persia*, and wrote his Epitaph in Greek and Latin, in the Persian, Jewish, and Egyptian Languages, that all Nations might understand it, *To the Deify'd Gordianus, the Conqueror of the Persians, the Goths and Sarmatians, the Arbiter of the Roman Seditions, the Conqueror of the Germans ; but not the Conqueror of the Philippi, for they murder'd him.*

2.

The Second Inscription contains an Epitaph which *Soræchus* erected to his Wife

Capitol.
Gordian. 3.
p. 165.

Wife *Martha*, Ann. Christi 178. in the 18th of *Marcus Antoninus* the Emperor :

* Μάρθην Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ Καπαδόντη * I. Μαρ-
Οὐαβαλλάθε τῷ Σύμωνι Σόραχι Αἰ- δω.
εἶπε ἀντὶ αὐτῆς μνήμης ἐνεκεν μῆνε
Δύσρῳ τῷ 5Υ ἔτας.

And may thus be rendred :

In memoriam Marthæ Alexandri Capadeti filiae, Vaballathi Neptis, Symonis proneptis Soræchus Æranis filius, maritus illius posuit mense Martio, A. D. 490.

3.

The Third is of the same nature, appropriated by *Malchus* to himself and his Children, tho' built by his Ancestors :

Το μνημείον ἔκτισαν † Ἐλαβήλας, Μαν- † I. Ἐλα-
ναῖ Σοχαιεῖς. Μαλχῷ Οὐαβαλλάθε βίβλ-
τῷ Μανναί τῷ Ἐλαβήλῃ ἀπὸ τε ἐν
ῥοῖς ἔτας ΔΙΥ μνηδὸς Ξανδικῆς.

Hoc Monumentum condiderunt Elabelus, Mannæus, Sochæis. Malchus verò Vaballathi filius, Mannei nepos, Elabeli pronepos

*pronepos fibi, & filiis posuit, anno 414.
mense Aprili.*

It is plain, that in this Inscription there is a mistake in the first line, of Ἐλαβήλης for Ἐλαβηλῶ, and a greater in Grammar, if *Elabelus*, *Mannæus*, and *Sochæis*, be taken for the same Man; I have therefore render'd it literally from the Greek, and have reason to think that there is another mistake in the Name *Sochæis*, for if *Malchus* were the Grandson of *Mannæus*, the Great Grandson of *Elebelus*, as the Inscription demonstrates, then *Sochæis* and *Vaballathus* must be the same Person, for he is expressly called the Son of *Vaballathus*; nor is it unpardonable to imagine, that Inscriptions set up by *Syrians*, who cannot be presum'd exact Masters of Greek, and transcribed in some haste, might be subject to mistakes, many such (whether of the Graver or Copyist, I cannot determine) frequently occurring to the diligent Reader; and therefore I believe that *Sochæis* should be chang'd into Βαλλαθῶ, or Βολαθῶ. (COXACIC BOAAAΘOC) the same Name with *Vabal-*

Vaballathus, by which Alteration the whole Inscription is very intelligible Sense, and Grammar.

4.

Μνημεῖον αἰώνιον γέρας ἀποδοῦναι
Γίχῳ Μομίμῳ τῷ Καίλιμαλσίτῳ τῷ
*Μα ... ου εἰς τε ἑαυτὴν, καὶ υἱὸς, καὶ ἐκγόνους * I. May
ἔτος ΔΙΤ' μῆνι Ξανδικῷ. vaia.

Thus renderd :

*Monumentum in sempiternum honorem
ædificavit Gichus Mocimi filius, Cælcia-
cisi nepos, Mannæi pronepos in sui,
& natorum, & posterorum sepulturam,
anno 314, mense Aprili, i. e. Chr. 2°.*

I very much doubt, that more than one fault occurs in the Names of the Persons, (and perhaps for Καίλιμαλσίτῳ, we may read τῷ καὶ ἀλασίτῳ al is a common prefix; and *Ashsus*, or *Azizus*, a Syrian Name. *Josèphus* mentions *Azizus* a Roytelet of *Emesa*; it was also the Name of their God *Mercury*;) and if so, it must be render'd, *Mocimi, qui & Azizus, filius, Mannæi nepos.* But I dare not vouch for the Emendation;

tion ; whatever therefore may become of that Conjecture, it is certain, that there is a mistake in the Date, and that for ΔΙΤ we ought to read ΔΙΥ. (Υ and Τ are letters easily confounded,) because in the Inscription, Γ for Σ, and ω for Ω, and ε for Ε are used, all which never appear in any genuine Coin, or Marble, till *Domitian's* time, as the Criticks agree.) This Inscription therefore is of the same Year with the precedent, the Monument being set up, *Ann. Chr. 102*, the Fourth of the Emperor *Trajan* : And these two are the most ancient Inscriptions at *Tadmur*. I have rendred αἰώνιον γέρας by *honos sempiternus*, upon the Authority of *Hesychius*, γέρας, πμὴ, σίβας, ἀθλα ἀρετῆς,

5.

From the Inscriptions of the Sepulchres, I proceed to consider their publick Monuments, erected by the Order of the Senate and People of the Commonwealth of *Tadmur*, to the Honour of such of their Citizens who had deserv'd well of the Republick. The first

first that occurs, relates to *Alilamenes*, or rather *Alcamenes*.

Ἡ βελὴ ἐν ᾧ δὴμῳ Ἀλιλάμενα Πανίῳ Μομίμῳ τῷ Αἰεχνῷ, τῷ Μάτῳ, ἐν Αἰεχνῷ τὸ πατέρα αὐτοῦ Δουσιβεῖς ἐν φιλοπαλείδας καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ [εὐ]σεμῶς ἀρέσαντας τῇ παλείδι, ἐν παλείοις Θεοῖς τέμνῃς χάριν ἔτας ΝΥ. λ μηνὸς Ξανδικῆ.

Senatus, Populusque (Palmyrenus) Alcamenem Panii Mocimi, qui ἔστι Ἄερανες, filium, Matthæ nepotem, ἔστι Ἄερανem illius patrem viros pios, ἔστι patriæ amantissimos, ἔστι omnimodo publicè placentes patriæ, ἔστι penatibus honoris ergo, anno 450, ultimo mensis Aprilis, h. e. Ann. Chr. 131. Hadriani Imp. cmtuali.

Alcamenes is a Name well known, and frequently occurs ; but *Alilamenes*, no where, that I remember. *Alcamenes* ^{Thucyd.} was one of the Generals of *Agis* King ^{l. 8.} of *Sparta*, sent into *Eubæa* when that Island revolted from the *Athenians*, afterward made the Governor of *Cbios*, and slain by the *Athenians* at *Pireæus*.
Another

* *Tetz.*
Arel. 8.
p. 147.

† CXXIX.
15.

|| DV.
.. *Harduin.*
p. 58.

Another * of that Name, was a famous Statuary in Brass; a Contemporary and Rival of the great Master *Phidias*; or perhaps it should be read, *Alexamenes*. *Alexamenes* the Son of *Damon* was the *Polemarchus*, or General of the *Aetolians*, says † *Gruter*; and instead of *Panius*, I would read either *Pinnius*, which is no unusual Name among the Romans (*L. Pinnius Celer*, & *L. Pinnius Celsus* occur in the Inscriptions) or rather *Phanius*; Φάνιος, πρεσβυτης; in || *Gruter*; Ἀπείλας Φανίς, the Prætor of *Apamia*, in the ∴ Coins. That this *Phanius Mocimus* was also called *Airanes*; the Inscription demonstrates, wherein *Airanes* is expressly called the Father of *Alcamenes*; they are both magnified for their Piety, and their Love to their Country (as *Barachias*, and *Mocimus* his Son, are applauded in the next Inscription) to which they were great Benefactors, while in gratitude their fellow-Citizens honoured such Patrons with the magnificent Titles of Κτισται (*Founders* of their City,) Σωτῆρες (*Saviours*,) and Εὐεργεται (*Benefactors*,) paying them the highest Respect while alive; and perpetuating their Memory when

when dead, by a thankful Remembrance, by publick Statues, and noble Inscriptions, according to that excellent Sentence that is happily preserv'd among the Fragments of the ancient *Gratitude* in one of *Gruter's* Marbles, 896. 4.

Τὸς ἀγαθὸς καὶ δαμόντας εὐεργετῶν δέει.

That good Men, even when they are dead, ought to be recompenc'd, and celebrated.—

Thus the Senate and People of *Ancyra*, the Metropolis of the *Tectosagi*, honoured *L. Fulvius Rusticus Æmilianus*, *Calpurnius Proclus*, and *T. Flavius Tæanus*, their Benefactors, their Founders, and Saviours. This Title of *Benefactors* was sometimes given to Kings, says the Holy Writ, *Luk. 22. 25.* to the *Ptolemy's*, *Mithridates*, to *Philip* of *Macedon*, and other Princes; even to Women, so *Berenice* is called by *Eratosthenes*: sometimes by Sovereigns to their Subjects, so *Artaxerxes* honour'd *Mordecai* with the Title of *Benefactor* and *Saviour*, says * *Josephus*. Their * Names and Achievements, for the

V. *Marm.*
Cosson.
1, 2, 3, 4.

* *Antiq.*
L. II. c. 6.

† V. *Herodot.* l. 3.

X

them :

them; at other times to whole Countries, so the *Agriaspæ* were called
 * *Arrian.* * *Eὐεργέται*, (the Persian Name is *Orospan-*
 l. 3. de Ex- *gæ*, says *Herodotus*.) because they assisted
 ped. Alex. *Cyrus* the Son of *Cambyfes* in his Expedition
 p. 73. against the *Scythians*; a Title that
 demonstrated their Likeness to the Dei-
 ties, [for the *Egyptians* called their
Nilus and *Osiris*, i. e. the Sun, *Omphis*,
 which signifies a Benefactor, says † *Her-*
 † *De Isid.* *maeus* in *Plutarch*,] to whom also a good
 † *Osir. &*
 † *Julian. O-*
 † *rat. 3.*
 Man was sometimes accounted a Bene-
 factor, for so *Clinodemus* the Son of *Le-*
botus is by a publick Decree of the
 Senate and People of *Delos* declared
 (*Εὐεργέτην τῶν τε ἑρῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἀνάλου*) he and
 his Posterity Benefactors to the Temple
 and People of *Delos*. And *Dionysius* of
Berytus is celebrated as a Benefactor to
 his Country Gods, so the learned Edi-
 tor of the *Oxford Marbles*, and others,
 understand the Inscription, *Διονύσιος*
Ζήνωνος τῷ Θεοδώρῳ Βρυτιῷ Εὐεργέτης
Θεοῖς πατρίοις, i. e. *Beneficus erga Pa-*
trios Deos, while the Inscription may
 be thus rendred, I think more properly,
Dionysius Zenonis filius Theodori nepos
Berytius beneficus (h. e. *solenni decreto*
Berytiorum Εὐεργέτης, seu *Benefactor*
sancitus)

* *Arrian.*
 l. 3. de Ex-
 ped. Alex.
 p. 73.

† *De Isid.*
 † *Osir. &*
 † *Julian. O-*
 † *rat. 3.*

V. *Osion.*
Marm. Ap-
 n. 1. q. 3.
 p. 287.

sancitus) *Diis Patriis* (*Marmor sc. seu*
aram posuit, seu dedicavit.) Thus in
 a curious Inscription found and tran-
 scribed by Monsieur Spon, in the Isthmus
 of *Corinth*; the Dedication is made,
Θεοῖς πατρίοις, καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, Publius *Miscellan.*
"Licinius Pyæm. Priscus Iuventianus," *evudit. An-*
"the High Priest for Life, devoting to *tiquit. §. 10.*
"his Country Gods, and his Country, *n. 111.*
"the Altars which he had built, the Pro- *p. 353.*
"visions which he had made for the
"Athletæ, who should come thither to
"the Isthmian Games, with other munifi-
"cent Buildings erected to their Honour:
 Upon which account we may well pre-
 sume him a Favorite to the People of
Corinth, and to the *Penates*; as *Alca-*
menes and his Father *Airanes* are said to
 be pleasing not only to their fellow-
 Citizens, but to their Country Gods,
 who probably by an Oracle declar'd
 their good Opinion of their Persons,
 and acceptance of their Services; for
 so *Julius Aurelius Zenobius* is in ano-
 ther of these Inscriptions, said to be *P. 97.*
 for his extraordinary meritorious Scr. *Transact.*
 vices to his Prince and Country, ho-
 nour'd with a Testimonial from the
 God *Jaribolus*, (who was doubtless one
 X 2 of

P. 103.

the Country Gods, or *Penates* of *Palmyra*;) and *Bolanus* declar'd in a third place to be choſen one of the Curators of the Fountain *Aphaca* by the ſame God *Jaribolus*, the Heathens paying a great Veneration to their Country Gods, or *Penates*, (for ſo the old Greekſaries inſtruct us. *Penates*, παλῆσθαι

Goth. l. 1.
c. 25.
p. 375.

θεοί; & vice verſâ. πατρῶοι Θεοί, *Penates*: and *Procopius* ſays, that *Janus* was the firſt of the antient Gods, whom the Romans call'd *Penates*, ὁ δὲ Ἰάνῳ πρῶτος μὲν ἦν τῶν ἀρχαίων Θεῶν, ἕς δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι γλώσῃ τῇ σφετέρᾳ πέντας, *h.e.* *Penates*, ἐκάλεον.) For when *Julian* the Emperor would paſs an extravagant Complement upon his Friend *Jamblichus*, (if the Epistle be his, which I much doubt) he ſays, that as ſoon as he came into *Bithynia*, he offered him his Preſents, as if he had been one of his Country Gods, καθάπερ παλῆσθαι Θεῶν.

Ep. Jam-
blich.

6.

Ἡ βαλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Βαρεῖχεν Αμερ-
σάμου τῷ Ἰαμβωλέως καὶ Μόκμου ἡν
αὐτὲ εὐσεβείας καὶ φιλοπαλῆδας τειμῆς
χάριν

Senatus,

Senatus, populusq; Bareichen (ſeu Barachiam) Amrisamfi filium Jariboleos nepotem. & Mocimum illius filium viros pios, & Patriæ amantes honoris ergo coluit.

This honorary Inſcription needs no Commentary, ſince it is ſo very like the former, unleſs it be worth remarking that *Jariboleus* is here the Name of a Man, as elſewhere of a God, it being very uſual to give the names of their Deities to their great Men; though perhaps it might not be reckon'd the wildeſt of Conjectures to imagine, that *Amrisamſus* was called *Jariboleus* after the name of his God, to whole Patronage he had committed himſelf, and by whom he was nominated to ſome Office, perhaps the Prieſthood, as *Bolanus* was by the ſame Deity to the Office of Curator of the Fountain *Aphaca*.

The following Inſcription is very noble, and very inſtructive.

7.

Ἡ βαλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰζλιον Αὐγῆλιον
Ζηνοβιον τὸν καὶ Ζαβδίλαν Διομάλχης τῷ
X 3 Ναοῦμ

Ναυσεύμενος στρατηγήσαντα ἐν ἐπιδημίᾳ
Θεῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῃ, καὶ ὑπηρετήσαντα παρ-
οῖα διηνεκῇ Παπλῳ Κελσπεῖν τῷ ἡγ-
σαμένῳ, καὶ ἐπιδημιοσάσαις οὐκ ἐπιλατίσιν,
ἀγορευομηναντὰ τε καὶ οὐκονισίνα φειδύσαν-
τα χρηματῶν, καὶ καλῶς πολιτευσάμενον
ὡς διὰ ταῦτα μαρτυρηθέντα ὑπὸ Θεῷ Ια-
εμβόλῃ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰαλῇ τῷ
ἐξοχωπάτῃ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ εἰς περὶ τῶν
καὶ τῆς πατρὸς τὸν φιλόπατριν τειμῆς
χάριν ἔτας ΔΝΦ.

S. P. Q. (Palmyrenus) *Julium Aure-
lium Zenobium, qui & Zabdilas, Diof-
malchi filium, Nassumi Nep. militantem
in adventu Dei Alexandri, & indefessè
præsentia, inservientem Rutillio Crispino
Duci, & deductis vexillationibus; edi-
lem, nec suis parcentem sumptibus. sed &
optimum Magistratum, ideòq; testimonio
ornatum à Deo Jaribolo, & à Julio
. nobilissimo Præfeco prætorio,
& à Patriâ, Patriæ amantem, honoris
ergo. Anno. 554. Christi sc. 242.
Gordiani tertii*.

To understand this Inscription a-
right, it is requisite to reflect upon the
State of both the Roman and Persian
Empires at that time; which I shall
briefly

briefly consider. *Alexander the Great*
having made himself Master of all the ^{*Zosim. l. 1.*}
East, his Successors the Kings of Syria, ^{*pag. 18.*}
kept the Possession of that part of the
Empire, till *Arfaces* the Parthian, pro-
vok'd by the Injuries done to his Bro-
ther *Tiridates*, took Arms, and having
slain *Pherecles* the Governor of the
Country, laid the Foundation of the
Parthian Empire (which whither it
commenc'd under *Seleucus Callinicus*,
or his Father *Antiochus*, who call'd
himself the God, I will not undertake
to determine :) This Empire lasted
270 Years, says *Agathias* out of the <sup>*L. 2. & He-
rodian. l. 6.*</sup>
Records of that Country, from *Arfa-*
ces their first King to *Artaban* the last,
under whom *Artaxerxes*, (*Zosimus* calls
more properly *Artaxerxes*) an obscure
Persian, but of an aspiring Mind, of
great Courage and Industry, having
fermented several of the Natives into
a Rebellion, after three Battles fought
with success, seiz'd *Artaban*, and, hav-
ing murther'd him, put the Crown on
his own Head, and so translated the
Empire a second time to the Persians.
This happen'd, says the above-menti-
oned Historian, in the five hundredth
X 4 and

and thirty eight Year of *Alexander the Great*, (i. e. of the *æra Seleucidarum*) and in the fourth Year of *Alexander* the Son of *Mammæa* : *Artaxerxes* having thus conquer'd the Parthians, and settled himself in the Throne, the next Year after, viz. the fifth of *Alexander*, he made his Incurfions into the Roman Territories. *Alexander* at first attempted to divert him from his Inroads by his Letters ; but finding the Method unsuccessful, he marcht with a powerful Army into the East, fought that potent Prince, forc't him to fly, and got a glorious Victory, having taken 300 Elephants, destroy'd 200 more, slain an Hundred and twenty thousand of their Horse, besides 10000 of their (*Cataphractæ*) Troops, that were arm'd *cap à pe* ; he also recover'd *Mesopotamia* out of their hands, and first taught the Persians how to serve the Romans ; after which he return'd to *Antioch*, and from thence to *Rome*, where the Senate decreed him a Triumph, as the Reward of his Services on the 25th of September, *Anno Christi* 227.

Lamprid.
pag. 133.

This

This Victory, says *Cassiodore* in his *Fasti*, was obtain'd in the first Year of *Alexander*, *Julianus* and *Crispinus* being Consuls, (*his* *Coss. Alexander Xerxem Regem Persarum vicit*) but he is mistaken ; for not to mention, that *Julian* and *Crispinus* were not Consuls, till the 3 Year of *Alexander* (who came to the Empire *Anno ær. vulg.* 222. the 10th of March, after *Heliogabalus* was slain) being fixt by all the other *Fasti*, (both those of *Idatius*, and those, which the most Learned Mr. *Dodwell* hath publisht out of the MSS. of Sir *H. Savil*, and *Isaac Vossius*) to the Year of Christ 224. *Agathias* positively avers, that *Artaxerxes* did not assume the Crown of *Persia*, till the fourth Year of *Alexander Mammææ*, which is exactly coincident with the 538th year of the *æra Seleucidarum*, and the vulgar Year of Christ 227 ; and this account the Historian declares he had from the Archives of the Persian Kings.

In this Expedition the *Palmyrenians* declar'd for the Interests of the Romans, against the Persian Usurper, and sent their Troops to their assistance under

Transact.
pag. 98.

Lamprid.
pag. 136.

der their General *Zenobius*. This *Zenobius* is said to be the Son Διοσμάλχου, or Διοσμάλχου, like Διοσκόρου, the Names of the Heathen Gods being usually given to the Men of illustrious Descent; this *Diosmalchus* was the Son of *Nassumus*: In another Inscription a like name occurs, Μάλωχα Νασσέμευ. The Expedition of *Alexander* is stiled ἐπιδημία Θεῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου, that great Prince having been dead some years, when this Inscription was erected, and by the Senate deified, who appointed him a Colledge of Priests, call'd *Alexandriani*, and order'd a Festival to be kept on his Birth-day, which the Romans continued to celebrate near a hundred years after, in the days of *Constantine the Great*; and to this Deification probably the *Επιδημία* in the Inscription, hath a remote relation; for the Heathens seldom speak of their Princes, but as of sacred Persons, their Persons were *numina*, and all their Laws and Actions, divine. Thus *ἐπιδημία* is often used; when *Eunapius* treats of the Title of *Philostratus's* Book of the Life of *Apollo-nius*, he saith, it rather ought to be stiled ἐπιδημία εἰς ἀνθρώπους Θεῶν, the Pa-

gans

gans setting up that Impostor in opposition to our blessed Saviour, who being God, made his appearance among Men. So St. *Gregory of Nazianzum*, calls our blessed Lord's Incarnation ἐπιδημία Θεῶν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους. It was the common Opinion of those Ages, that their Gods did upon some solemn days descend from Heaven, put on humane Shape, and appear in those Cities, for which they had a particular Regard, (as many of the Ancients thought the Martyrs did frequently show themselves in those places, either where they had been born, or put to death, or buried;) and this Descent they called ἐπιδημία Θεῶν; and being prone to Deify their Princes, and to treat them with all sort of divine Honours, whenever the Emperor vouchsafed to visit any City, they entertained him with the highest Testimonies of Joy and Exultation, and reputed the Day a solemn Festival; and therefore in the Coins *Επιδημία Αυτ.* And *Adventus Augusti* *felicissimus* frequently occurs, and in another of the Inscriptions at *Palmyra*, *Επιδημία Θεῶν Ἀδελανῶν*.

Orat. 38.

Vid. Dion.
Chrysost.
Tarl. i.
pag. 408.

V. Harduin.
num. p. 397.

The

The Imperial General in this Expedition was *Rutillius Crispinus*, (the *Prænomēn* of that great Man being restor'd to him from this Inscription, no ancient Monument else calling him other than *Crispinus*;) *Tullius Crispinus* was the *Præfectus Prætorio* under *Didius Julianus*; but he cannot be the Man; but there was another *Crispinus*, a Man of the Consular Dignity, who with *Menophilus*, after the barbarous Murder of *Alexander Severus*, maintained *Aquileia* against *Maximinus*, who in vain besieg'd it. They were both sent by the Senate to preserve that important Place; and they maintain'd their Province with so much Courage, that the Soldiers despairing to take the City, fell upon their Generals, and slew both *Maximin* and his Son, in their Tents. The same *Crispinus* had been long before *Colleague* with *Julianus* in the Consulship ann. $\frac{2}{3}$. of *Alexander Severus*, of Christ 224. from the Death of *Alexander the Great* 547. and from the Year of *Augustus* (or the *Epocha* of the Battel at *Actium*) 253. say the ancient *Fasti*, publisht by the most Learned

Dodwell.

Lamprid.
p. 61, 63.

Capitolin.
Maximin.
2. p. 146.

Id. p. 169.

Dodwell. Upon this General *Crispinus Zenobius* of *Palmyra*, was a constant Attendant, assisting the Auxiliary Troops with whatever Necessaries they stood in need of in those barren Deserts; Οὐνξιδλατίον: i. e. *Vexillationibus*, *Vexillariis*, or *auxiliariis*, the words being of an equivalent import; for these very Troops, which *Tacitus* calls in one place *auxiliorum cohortes*, he presently after styles *vexillares cohortes*, the whole Roman Army being divided into their own Legions; and Auxiliaries, says Monsieur *Saumaïse*, *auxilia in cohortes divisa, cohortes in vexilla, itaq; cohors semper de auxiliis, & vexilla de cohortibus*; the *Dux Vexillorum* in the Inscriptions being the same with the *Præpositus auxiliorum*.

V. Salmas.
in *H. A.*
Script. p.
125. 455.

Zenobius was also ἀγορευόμενος, or *ædile* of his City, (the Office I have already accounted for) and he adorn'd his Province with great Magnificence, for so I read ἐκονίσωνα ἐ τῶν ἰδίων (or ἰσων) ἀπεδοκάντα χερμαίων, the Phrase ἐξ ἰδίων frequently occurring in these,

these, as in several other Inscriptions; and for this Reason, among others, he is honour'd with the Title of a good Magistrate, καλῶς πολιτευσάμενον;) for this generous and beloved Officer had his publick Testimonies, that he deserv'd the noblest Character that could have been given of him, since both the Gods and Men were Vouchers for his Merit; the God *Jaribolus*, *Julius Philippus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the East, together with all his fellow-Citizens, having publickly attested his Love to his Country. Of the God *Jaribolus*, and his Oracle, I have spoken already; and the Monument it self is an undeniable Proof of the Regard his Country had to him, and with what respect the Roman Governour of the East treated him. Who this *Præfectus Prætorio* of the East was, will be easily found, if we reflect on the Date of the Inscription, *an. ær. Seleucid. 554. i. e. Christi 242.* the year before the youngest *Gordian* was slain; at which time *Julius Philippus* the Arabian, was the *Præfectus Præt.* of the East.

P.161,162. *Capitolinus* affirms, that *Gordian* proclaim'd the War, and went into *Persia*, when

when *Prætextatus* and *Atticus* were Consuls: *i. e.* says *Onuphrius*, in the year of Christ, according to the vulgar Computation, 242. for then *C. Aufidius Atticus*, and *C. Aufinius Prætextatus* were Consuls; that *Misitheus* died, and *Philip* succeeded him, *Apriano*, and *Papo Coss.* that is, the year after, *an. Christi 243.* for then *C. Julius Arrianus*, and *Æmilius Papus* were Consuls; but that the Year following, when *Peregrinus*, and *Fulvius Æmilianus* were Consuls, *Gordian* was slain the first of *March*, and *Philip* succeeded him. So say the *Fasti* of *Idatius*, and others; and so says *Cassiodore*, (that in the Consulate of *Peregrinus* and *Æmilianus*, *Gordian* was slain by *Philip*, as he was returning home crown'd with Lawrel for the Conquest of the Persians, not far from the Roman Territories near *Circesium*; for there he was buried, that being the Roman Boundary toward the East; and that the Army built him a Tomb on the *Euphrates*, the Place being called the *Sepulchre of Gordian*, says *Aur. Victor*, but carried his Bones to *Rome*;) nor do the *Fasti* in Sir *H. Savil's MS.* set out by Mr. *Dodwell*,

well, disagree, only they fix the Consul a year higher, which the *Palmyrene* Inscription confirms, in which *Philip* is expressly said to have been the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the East; *an.* 554. h. e. *Chr.* 242.

From whence also we may collect, that the City of *Palmyra* was in the Expedition of *Gordian*, as well as in that of *Alexander* a Confederate, and an Assistant to the Romans. How that Common-wealth behaved it self toward *Philip* the Murderer, and Successor of *Gordian*, we have no Records; but from the rasure in the Inscription we may conclude, that they hated his Name and Memory: In truth so odious were the Person and Actions of *Philip*, that no one Historian, that I remember, hath written his Life; and those who treat of him by the by, call him perfidious Wretch. *Aurelius Victor* styles him *Thraconites*, i. e. a Native of the Region of *Traconitis*, (born at *Bosra* in *Arabia* says *Tristan*,) he was of a very mean Parentage and Original; his Father a true *Arab*, a Captain of *Banditi*, (his name *Saturninus*, says *Tristan*) his Life ignominious, and his Death such as he deserv'd

deserv'd, being sacrificed by *Decius* to the angry Manes of his Predecessor; 'tis true, *Entropius* affirms, that he was deify'd after his Death, but so were many of the worst of Emperors. After he assum'd the Purple, he made an ignominious Peace with the Persians, and leaving his Brother *Priscus* his Governor of the East, he march't to *Rome*. *Priscus* behav'd himself so insolently in his Office, and laid such heavy Taxes on the People, that in a little time he became insufferable, inso-much that the Natives betook themselves to their Arms, and chose *Papianus* (others call him *Jotapianus*) Emperor, having, as it is very probable, slain *Priscus*; and *Philip* himself a little time after fell by the hand of *Decius*. And at this time, I believe, the rasure was made in the Inscription at *Palmyra*, it being no unusual Practice both at *Rome* and in the East, as to deface the Statues of eminent Persons, when fallen into disgrace; so to scratch out their Names out of the honorary Inscriptions, devoted to their Memory: Thus in an *Epi-graphe* at *Rome*, the name of *Stilicho* is eras't, (though his Titles are left un-
Y toucht,

Zosim. l. 1. p. 20.

Grut. 161. i

tought, as in the *Palmyrene* Inscription, *V. C. & illustris militis, & magistri utriusq; militiæ*,) as is also the name of *Fl. Macrobius Longinianus* the then Governor of Rome : the name of *Maximianus* in a 2d, of *Commodus* in a 3d, to omit other Instances.

8.

Ἡ βελή κ' ὁ δὲ μὲν Σεπλίμιον τὸν κατέπεσον Ἐπίτροπον Σεβασῆ Δουκηνάριον εὐδοτίῳ τῷ μητροπολιτικῆς, κ' ἀνακομισαντα τὰς συνουσίας ἐξ ἰδίων, κ' μαρτυρηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, κ' λαμπρῶς σεβλήσαντα, κ' ἀγορευομένησαντα τῆς αὐτῆς μητροπολιτικῆς, κ' πλεῖστα οἰκοθέν ἀναλώσαντα, κ' ἀρέσαντα τῇ αὐτῇ βελή, κ' τῷ δὲ μὲν, κ' νυνὲ λαμπρῶς συμποσάσας τῶν τῷ Διὶ Βήλε ἱερῶν, τειμῆς ἔνεκεν ἔτ Ξανδικῶ.

S. P. Q. (Palmyrenus) Septimium (Orodes) optimum Procuratorem Ducenarium Augusti, qui oleum curavit donandum Metropoli coloniae, quiq; privata impensâ, & suo sumptu commeatum mercatoribus iter commune facientibus prae-buit; & à negotiorum praesidibus amplum testimonium adeptus est; fortiter, & cum laude militans, & ædilem ejusdem Metropoleos coloniae, plurimas
etiam

etiam opes domi impendentem; ideoq; placentem eidem senatui, Populoq; & nunc magnificè Modimperatorem agentem in sacrificiis Jovis Belì, honoris ergo coluit.
Ann. mense Martio.

In three several Inscriptions erected to the Honour of *Septimius Orodes*, this by the Senate of *Palmyra*, and two others by his Friend *Julius Palmes*, (for I no way doubt, but they all belong to the same Illustrious Person, and were set up in the same Year, and the same Month;) he is said to have been the *Procurator Ducenarius* to *Odenathus*, (for there could be no other Emperor at *Palmyra* in the Year of Christ 266.) and to have done many good Offices for his Country, particularly for the Merchants, who honour'd him with a publick Testimonial of their Gratitude; what the Office of the ἐπίτροπος Σεβασῆ δουκηνάριος was, what the ἀγορευόμενος, and συμποσάσας, I have already declar'd: the imperfect word εὐδοτίῳ is by Mr. Halley rendred κρεοδότης, (it being unquestionable, that the Ancients did distribute, besides Bread, and other Largeesses, Flesh to
Y 2 the

*Vid. Appen-
cap. 3.*

the People; the Law calls it *Visceratio*, and the old Glossary, *Visceratio*, ἀρεσκίας, εὐφραδία;) but if I might be allowed the liberty of making another Conjecture, I would read it ἐλασιόδοτῳ, (or as the Syrian Graver might spell it ἐλεοδότῳ) the Custom of bestowing Oyl upon the Citizens on solemn Festivals, being well understood: *Cestrania Severina* gave a great Sum to the Colledge of the *Dendrophori*, that every year upon her Birth-day such a quantity of Oyl might be distributed to every one of them. *Id.* 414. 2. And *T. Fundilius Geminus* gave, besides his Bequest to the Chest of the *Augustales*, and the Magistrates, &c. to the People a Feast, and a Large of Oyl on his Birth-day. And *L. Cæcilius* bequeath'd to the Inhabitants of *Como* every year on the Feast of *Neptune*, Oyl for their *Gymnasia*, and their Baths, and for the Exercises in the publick Places of Sport, (as I would rendert he words, *in campo*.)

I have read *μητροκολωνεία*, *μητρόπολεις κολωνεία*, (as many other Eastern Cities are stiled in the Coins) though *P. 130. &c.* Monsieur *Patin*, in his Edition of the Coins

Coins of *Maurocenus*, retains *μητροκολωνεία* in those of the Cities of *Emsea*, *Carra*, and *Antioch*, (Cities of the East not far from *Palmyra*;) in all which I am of opinion, the word should be rendred *Metropolis colonia*, *μητροκολωνεία* never appearing in any Lexicon; *συνωδία* is rendred by the Critics *Conjunctio in via*, or *iter commune*; and *Septimius* is magnified in the Inscription for his defraying the Expence of the *Caravan*, for which reason the Presidents of the Merchants in a publick Meeting gave him their Testimonial, according to custom: So *Metrodorus* the Son of *Her-* *Grut. 309. 1.*
mogenes, the Grandson of *Metrodorus*, was honoured with a Testimonial from the whole Synod, or Colledge of Priests of *Ceres*, and advanc'd to the Office of *Stephanephorus*, or the President, of their Country in holy things, (ἡ συνωδὸς συμμαχουργας τὸν στεφανήφρον) and others are said to have been (τιμηθέντας ἐν ἐκκλησίαις) rewarded with the Thanks of their publick Assemblies; the Merits of *Septimius* were as illustrious as his Country's Love toward him: He had obliged their private Societies, and been very magnificent to the whole
Y 3 City;

City ; he had been an Officer, and behav'd himself with Courage and Reputation under his Prince *Odænathus*, probably when he routed the *Persians*; and was that year, when the Monument was erected, the *Sympofiarch* in the Festival dedicated to *Jupiter Belus* their Patron Deity, viz. in the year 266. after Christ, and of the Empire of *Odænathus* the 4.

9.

I proceed in the next place to consider the Monuments erected by private Persons to the Memory of their Friends: The first of which contains the grateful Remembrance which the *Palmyrene* Merchants, trading to *Vologesias*, retain'd of the great Services, which *Julius Aurelius Zebeidas* did them in that Expedition.

Ἰῴλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζεβεΐδαν Μοκίμῃ τῇ
Ζεβεΐδῃ ἀδωροβαΐδα οἱ
συνὸ αὐτῷ κατελθόντες εἰς Ὀλογοσιὰδα ἐμ-
πόριον ἐσησαν ἀρέσαντα αὐτοῖς τιμῆς χά-
ριν Ξανδικῷ τῇ, ΗΝΦ ἔτης . . .

Which, with leave to fill up the vacant Spaces, and to correct the Mistakes, may thus be read and rendered:

Ἰῴλιον

Ἰῴλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζεβεΐδαν Μοκίμῃ τῇ
Ζεβεΐδῃ πραγματείας θεωρὸν αἰδίων οἱ
συνὸ αὐτῷ κατελθόντες εἰς Ὀλογοσιὰδα ἐμ-
πόριον ἐσησαν ἀρέσαντα αὐτοῖς τιμῆς χά-
ριν Ξανδικῷ τῇ, ΗΝΦ ἔτης . . .

Julium Aurelium Zebeidam Mocimi
F. Zebeidæ N. perpetuum commercii cu-
ratorem qui cum illo descenderunt ad em-
porium Vologessiam elegerunt, virum iis
gratissimum, cultûs gratiâ : Mense Mar-
tio, anno 558. h.e. Christi 246. Phi-
lippi Arabis Imp. 2º.

That *Palmyra* was a City of great Trade, and the Inhabitants eminent Merchants, hath been already prov'd from *Appian* and *Pliny*; as also that their Commerce was maintain'd both with *Persia* and the Western Empire; which also was done by other Frontier Cities, though under the Jurisdiction of the Roman Princes, as by *Nisibis* and *Edeffa*; of whom the old Geographer says, that "they were peopled
" with Men of condition, excellently
" skill'd in all the Methods of Trade,
" great Navigators, very rich, and Ma-

ἔχοντες ὅλην
τὴν κίσμη.
δ. 16. p. 19

Y 4

" sters

“ sters of all worldly Plenty ; that
 “ what they bought of the Persians,
 “ they sold to the Romans, dealing in
 “ all sort of Commodities, but Con-
 “ traband Goods, Brás and Iron, which
 “ they were forbidden to sell to the
 “ Enemies of *Persia*. Which Character
 seems exactly suited to the *Palmyrene*
 Merchants.

For that they traded to *Vologesias*, (a
 City under the Persian Jurisdiction) is
 plain from the Inscription ; in which
 Ολογοσιὰς is neither the Town of *Ologas-*
sus, nor the Name of a Man, but of a
 famous City on the *Euphrates*, not far
 from its Confluence with the *Tigris*.

Nat. Hist. *Babylon*, says * *Pliny*, was once the Seat
l. 6. §. 30. of the Eastern Empire, and the great
p. 71 $\frac{2}{3}$. Mart of Trade ; but it fell into decay,
 when *Seleucus Nicator* built *Seleucia*,
 where the two Rivers meet, situated
 in a most fruitful Soil, and commonly
 called *Babylon*. To eclipse the Glory,
 and lower the Trade of *Seleucia* ; the
 Parthians, after they had made them-
 selves Masters of the East, built *Ctes-*
iphon, three miles from *Seleucia* on the
 Eastern Bank of *Tigris*, and there fixt
 the Residence of their Kings ; but, this
 Project

Project not answering expectation, King
Vologeses (who in a Coin in the Cabi-
 net of Pope *Alexander* the 7th, is stiled
 Βολόγαισος, with all his lofty Titles, ac-
 cording to the Rhodomontade of the
 Parthian and Persian Kings ; βασιλεὺς
 βασιλέων, ἐπιφανής, φιλέλλω ; to which
 Epithets, in another Coin in Monsieur
Patin, is added διγαίος) being Con-
 temporary with *Nero* and *Vespasian*,
 built another City, which from his own
 Name he called *Vologesocerta*, in the
 Neighbourhood, (18 miles distant, say
 the *Peutinger* Tables :) but to the
 South of *Babylon*, and there, probably,
 fixt the staple of Trade from the Perfi-
 an Gulph, and the other parts of the
 East. This City is called by *Stephanus*
 Βολογοσιὰς, by *Ptolomee* Ουολγοσιὰς ;
Voloceffia in the *Peutinger* Tables, and
Vologessia by *Ammianus Marcellinus* ; but
 by *Pliny*, according to the *Persic* Ter-
 mination, *Vologesocerta*. Κέβλα πόλις ὑπὸ
 Ἀρμενίων, says *Hesychius* ; to prove
 which Assertion there is an eminent
 Passage in *Pliny* ; that among the Cities
 of *Armenia the Less*, *Armosate* is situate
 near the *Euphrates*, *Carcathiocerta* near
 the *Tigris*, (which * *Strabo* affirms, was
 the

N. H.
l. 6. §. 10.
p. 66 $\frac{2}{3}$.
 * *Lib. I.*
p. 327.

the Royal City of *Sophene*;) but on the Mountains *Tigranocerta* stood. And for

* L. 5. c. 13. *Artasigarta*, which *Ptolemee* * places in *Armenia the Greater*, I would read *Artaxicerta*; *Zadracarta* being also the

† *Lib. 3. de chief City of Hyrcania*, says † *Arrian*.
exped. Alex. And I cannot but remark, that this
 p. 71. word, either in Termination, or Præfixt, in almost all Languages signifies a

City. In Hebrew *Kiriath-Arba* is the City of *Arba*, *Kiriath-Sepher* is the City of Books; in the Punick, *Carthage* is the new City; in the Scythian, *Carpaluk* the City of Fish; says *Tzetzes*, τὸ Κάριον γὰρ πόλις Σκυθικῶν, τὸ δὲ πάλαι Ἰχθυῖες. And in our own British *Cair-Lundein*, *London*; *Cair-Kent*, *Canterbury*; *Cair-went*, *Winchester*, &c. and probably among the *Ægyptians* *Gran-Cair* hath its name from this Original, or *al Cabira*, as the *Arabians* call it.

To this City *Vologesia*, the Merchants of *Palmyra* traded, not long after it was made a Mart by the King, who founded it; but the Commerce was often interrupted by the frequent Wars made by the Romans and Persians against each other; particularly during the Expedition of *Gordianus* in-

to

to the East; but when *Philip* the Arab, having murthered that excellent Emperor, succeeded him, and made an ignominious Peace with *Sapores* in the first year of his Reign, the Persian Company at *Palmyra* sent *Julius Aurelius Zebidas*, with other eminent Persons of their Society, to *Vologesia* to re-establish their Factory, and adjust all Differences that had happen'd since the War broke out; And he discharg'd that Office so faithfully, and so much to their Satisfaction, that upon his return they erected a Monument with an honorary Inscription to his Memory, which is still preserv'd, and as a Reward of his great Services, chose him their President. For so I am inclin'd to read that broken, and unintelligible part of the Inscription; πραγματείας θεωρῶν αἰδίου οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κατελθόντες εἰς Ολογοσιᾶν ἐμπόριον ἔστησαν. θεωρὸς αὖ ὤρη; i. e. φεροντής, curator; say the Lexicographers; it commonly signifies *rerum divinarum curatorem*, τῶν θεῶν φεροντίζοντα, but here a President or Inspector. ἔστησαν, εἰλοντο, says *Hesychius*.

The

The two following Inscriptions concern the same Persons.

I O.

Σεπίμιμον Ουορώδην τὸν κερτίσον ἐπίτροπον Σεβαστῆ Δεκηνάριον ἢ Ἀροαπέτῳ Ἰέλιῳ Αὐρήλιῳ Εἰλμης Κασσιανῆ τῇ Μελεναίῃ Ἰππεύς Ρωμαίων τὸν φίλον, ἢ προσάτῳ ἔτας Η Ο Φ. μῆνι Ξανδικῷ.

Septimium Orodem optimum Procuratorem Augusti Ducenarium & Archegetam Julius Aurelius Palmes Cassiani F. Melenæi N. Eques Romanus amicum, & Patronum. Anno 578. mense Martio; h. e. Christi 266. Odenathi 2^o.

I I.

Σεπίμιμον Ουορώδην τὸν κερτίσον ἐπίτροπον. Σεβαστῆ Δεκηνάριον ἢ Ἀροαπέτην Ἰέλιῳ Αὐρήλιῳ, Εἰλμης Πύλῳ Μελεναῖος Μάλῳχα Νασέμῃ ὁ κερτίσος τὸν φίλον, ἢ προσάτῳ τειμῆς ἕνεκεν ἔτας . . . μῆνι Ξανδικῷ.

Septimium Orodem optimum Procuratorem Augusti Ducenarium, & Archegetam Julius Aurelius Palmes, Publius Melenæus

lenæus Malchi F. Nassumi N. vir præstantissimus amicum, & patronum honoris ergo anno . . . mense Martio, (coluerunt.)

Of *Septimius Orodes*, I have discours'd in the Comment on the eighth Inscription, and of his eminent Employments under *Odænathus*, as his Procurator *Ducenarius*, and in the City, as their *Ædilis* and *Symposiarch*; in these two Inscriptions he is stiled *Αρχαγέτης*, (for so I would read the unintelligible *ἀροαπέτων* not *ἀρταγέτης*, as Mr. Halley conjectures; the *Præfectus annonæ*, the Officer, who took care the City should not want Bread; because he is said to be *προσάτης* the Patron of *Julius Aurelius Palmes* the Roman Knight, who was not a Native of *Palmyra*, the Γ and Π being Letters easily mistaken one for the other; and in one Copy of the Inscription it is thus written, ΑΡΛΠΗΤΗΝ.) Now the *Archegeta* was the Chief, or President of his Tribe, says *Hesychius* (V. *Αρχηγέται*, ἥρωες ἐπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν ἢ θεοὶ ἐν Αθήναις, *Id. v. ἐπώνυμοι*, οἱ τῶν φυλῶν ἐπώνυμοι ἥρωες, οἵπερ ἠσανδῆχα) the Heroe, from whom the Tribe had its name; they were honour'd

honour'd with Statues of Brass, says the
 * *Etymolog. magn.* and were Persons
 of the most eminent Dignity; their
 number at *Athens* was ten, *Erechtheus*,
Egeus, *Pandion*, &c. and of the same
 number were their Tribes; their Au-
 thority was great, and their Power ex-
 tensive, (*Hes. Αρχηγέτης ἀρχων. Αρχι-
 γέτας ἀρχονίας: Theodorit, l. 3: θεο-
 πευλ, citing Plutarch de oracul. defeſtu,*
calls Arſalus, Aryus, and Toſobis, whom
Saturn ſlew, but the Lycians deify'd,
Αρχηγέτας τῶν Λυκίων, whom Plutarch
calls ἀρχονίας; and the ſame Author in
the Life of Lycurgus, ſays the King of
Sparta was their Αρχηγέτης) the name
was particularly given to thoſe who
were the Leaders or Captains of Colo-
nies, when they were tranſplanted, and
their Protectors: So † Xenophon ſays
*of Hercules, Ηγεμὸν τῶν ἡμετέρων Αρχι-
 γέτη. || Plutarch of Minerva, Αρχηγέτης*
Αθηνῶν; and the old Inſcription to Apol-
*lo, in Monsieur * Spon. Απόλλωνι Αρχηγέ-*
τη; as he is alſo ſtil'd by Thucydides †,
who mentions an Altar erected to Apol-
lo Αρχηγέτης, by the Inhabitants of
Chalcus, who left Eubæa, and built
Naxus, upon which the Priests (Θεῶν
 πολ)

* V. Ἐπίλυ-
 μ. v. loc.

† Ελλ. αν. 6.

|| Vit. Alci-
 biad.

* It. Athen.
 p. 150.

† L. 6. n. 3.
 p. 349.

πολ) used to offer Sacrifice, before they
 left *Sicily*, whenever they undertook
 a Voyage. *Apollo* was so called, says
 the old Scholiast upon *Pindar* *, be-
 cause he was the Author of that Expe-
 dition of the *Naxians*, when they went
 into *Sicily*; or as † *Appian* says, δ δὲ † Lib. 5.
Αρχηγέτης Απόλλωνος ἀγαλματίων ἔζη, Bell. civil.
ὅπρ' αὐτὸν ἐξήσαντο Νάξιαν οἱ εἰς Σικελίαν p. 734.
ἀπώμισμένοι.

This President, or Prince of the
 Tribe, was sometimes stiled the *Phylarchus*,
 (φύλαρχος φύλης ἀρχων in *He-
 sychius*) or φύλαρχων, as it is in the
Ancyran Inſcription above mention'd; p. 240.
 for where-ever the φύλαρχων is named,
 the φύλη is also named in the same In-
 ſcription. And the *Phylarchs* of the
Saracens were so called, because the Peo-
 ple were divided into 12 Tribes; over
 every one of which was establish'd a
 Prince, called the *Phylarchus*, a Custom
 kept up by the *Goths*, and other barbarous
 Nations. To what number the
 Tribes at *Palmyra* amounted, I know
 not; but that *Septimius Orodes* was the
 chief of one of them, is manifest from
 the Inſcription; nor do I doubt but
 those Chiefs had the power to admit a
 Foreigner

* V. Cluver.
 Sicil. p. 93.
 94

† Lib. 5.
 Bell. civil.
 p. 734.

V. Memor.
 Coſſon.
 p. 14½.

Foreigner to the Priviledges of the Tribe, and to give him their Protection; and therefore *Orodes* is said to be Friend to *Julius Aurelius Palmes*, and his Patron. (Προσάτιν) *Hesyc.* προσάτια, ὑπερένησις, *Gloss. vet.* προσάτια *Pratrocinium*, προσάτης *Patronus*, *præpositus*. And

V. Πρὸς ἄτιν,
ἢ μετόικον.

Harpocratio affirms, that no Foreigner was permitted to leave his own City, and to settle at *Athens*, unless one of the Citizens undertook to be his Patron, (ἀναγκάσιον γὰρ ἦν ἐκείνῳ τῶν μετοίκων πολιτεύειν τινα Ἀθηναίων νέμειν προσάτιν) the fine the Foreigner, when so patroniz'd, paid to the City was 12 *Drachmas*, ealled from those who paid the Tax μετοίκων, which whosoever refused to lay down, he was brought to the (πωληταί) Officers, who took care of their Tolls, and sold, being for the most part condemn'd to the Gallies. Nor can I doubt but the same Custom of Patronizing Foreigners was observ'd in other Cities, particularly at *Palmyra*; this Patronage sometimes covered only

Marm. Constantin.
5.

private Persons: Thus at *Ancyra*, *Flavianus Eutyches* acknowledges, *C. Æl. Flavianus Sulpicius* his Patron, Γ. Αἰλ. φλαβιανὸν Σουλπίκιον δις π . . λατάρχην,
(*Lege*

(*Lege* Γαλατάρχην) τὸν ἀγνότατον ἐν δικαιοτάτῳ Φλαυίῳ. Εὐτυχὲς τὴν γλυκύτατον πατέρα. *Eutyches*, I doubt not, was his *Libertus*, and acknowledg'd the Patronage of his *quondam* Master, who had made him free; such Testimonials of Gratitude being as usual, as just, (and sometimes it happen'd the Freedman himself became a Patron; so. *Tiberius Claudius* the *Libertus* of *Augustus*, is called the Patron of his Parents, to whom he erected a Monument.) Sometimes the Patronage reach'd Societies, and Companies of Trade, (so we read of the Patrons of the Colleges of the *Arvales*, *Grut. pass.* the *Dendrophori*, the Companies of Smiths, the Braziers, the Fishermen, and Shipwrights, &c.) sometimes whole Cities and Regions, and the Title and Office was very honourable, *C. Torasus* being by the unanimous Suffrages of the Magistrates chosen the Patron of a Town by the River *Clitumnus*, (*ob merita ejus erga Remp.*) for his great Services done to the Common-wealth.

This Patronage it was requisite that even the Romans themselves (during the Reign of *Odenathus* in the East, in whose time the Inscriptions were made)

Z

should

should court, as *Julius Palmes* did; I call him *Palmes* because it is a known Roman name, (and perhaps *Melenæus* should be written *Mellinius*, or *Menelaus*) for which reason I have inserted *Publius* for *Puilsus*. He was a Man of the Equestrian Dignity, which intitled him at *Rome* to eminent Privileges; which I shall not minutely enumerate, only mentioning, that the Roman Knights install'd the *Princeps juventutis*, presenting him with a Horseman's Shield, (*Parma*) and a Silver Spear; for so says the *Ancyran Marble*, as *Gronovius* judiciously hath supplied the crast Letters. *Equites autem Romani aniver-*
si Principem Juventutis Romanorum par-
mis utrumq; & hastis argenteis donatum
appellaverunt; for that both *Caius* and *Lucius* were *Principes juventutis*, the Coins put out of all doubt: And that whenever a Native of any of the Roman Colonies was admitted to the Honour of being made a Roman Knight, he reckon'd the Privilege among his noblest Titles: So *L. Claudius*, the chief-
 est Person of the Island of *Malta*, glories in the Honour, as does *Fl. Ælianus*, (or *Ti. Flavius Tæanus*, as it is written in the

Marm. An-
cyr. p. 60. 84

Grut. 388.

4. 400. 3.

Marm. Cos-
son. p. 141.

the *Marble of Cossion*) though the High-priest of the whole Province of *Galatia*, and *Galatarches*, the 2d Founder of his native City *Ancyra*, and their Embassador to the Emperor *Antoninus*.

12.

Σεπίμιον Αιρανίου Οδαίναθς τὸν λαμ-
 πρότατον συγκλητικόν.

Septimium Airanem Odænathi filium
senatorem eminentissimum.

I have already prov'd it not unlikely, that this *Airanes* was the Son of the Emperor *Odænathus*, before he assum'd the Purple, from his name *Septimius*, the name of his Father being also inserted, and from the Date of the following Inscription on the same Pillar, viz. *ann. Christi 251.* but 13 years before *Odænathus* was chosen by *Gallienus*, his Co-partner in the Government of the World.

13.

Εξα ντων Αυγηλι ρ Ηλι-
 οδωρ σεραπείτης λε κης
 τῶν πατρῶν τειμῆς κὶ εὐχαριστίας χάρειν
 ἔτες ΓΞΦ.

Z 2

Aurelius

Aurelius Valerius Heliodorus Præfectus Legionis Illyricorum in honorem Patrum, & gratulationis ergo anno 363. h. e. Chr. 251. Decii ult.

I have given the name *Valerius* to *Heliodorus* to fill up the Vacancy, because it occurs elsewhere, (*L. P. Valerius Heliodorus*) and because the η that appears before *Ηλιόδωρος* seems to be last Letter of *Ουαλνς*, a like Vacancy occurring in the same name in another Inscription. This *Heliodorus* was, I doubt not, either the Son of, if not the same Person with, *Lucius Aurelius Heliodorus*, the Son of *Antiochus*, a Citizen of *Palmyra*; who in an Inscription at *Rome*, publisht by *Gruter*, (but more accurately by *Tristan* and *Spon*) erected a Silver Statue, (*σῆνον*) with all its Ornaments, to *Aglibelus* and *Malachbelus*, the Gods of his Country, for the safety of himself, his Wife and Children, in the Year 547. according to the Computation of his Country, but in the Year of Christ 235. being the last year of the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, the Inscription lately found at *Palmyra* bearing date 16 years

years after, *ann. Chr. 251.* which was the last year of the Emperor *Decius*. He is stiled *Ἀδριανὸς παλαμῆνός*, in the Marble at *Rome*; (*Tristan* reads it *Ἀδριανεύς*) not because an Inhabitant of *Palmyra*, which from their Benefactor was called *Hadrianople*; for then it should have been written *Ἀδριανοπολίτης*, but by mistake of the Graver, or Transcriber; for *Ἀδριανεύς*, he being one of the College of Priests (*Sodalis Hadrianal*) dedicated to the Service of that Emperor, after the Senate had deify'd him: For, that he was acknowledg'd a God at *Palmyra*, is plain from another Inscription; in which he is called, *Θεὸς Ἀδριανός*. And in that City, I doubt not but *Heliodorus* was one of his Priests, (*σεβαστοπότης*) *Ἀδριανεύς* a Priest of *Hadrian*, as *Ἀδριανείον* a Temple built to his Memory, and *Ἀδριανεία*, the Plays instituted to his Honour. I call him *ἀρχιεργατῆς*, the same with *ἀρχιεργατῆς*, which occurs in another *Inscription, (or *ἀντισεργατῆς* for *ἀντισεργατῆς*, *Proprætor*) and have given him the Command of the Illyrian Legion, because in after-times (and probably in the days of *Decius*) that Legion was

* *Reinescl.*
VI. n. 101.

deputed to lye in Garrison at *Palmyra*, as says the *Notitia* of the Oriental Empire; *Sub Duce Phœnices Præfectoræ*, (or, as it is much better in the MS. *Præfektus*) *Legionis primæ Illyriciorum Palmyræ*.

Against my Opinion, that both the Inscriptions concern the same Person, I have met with but one Objection; that in the one Marble he is called a Priest, in the other a Soldier, as if the Offices were incompatible: But the Answer to the Objection is very easy, since it was usual in those days for one and the same Person, to put on the Sacerdotal Habit, and the Military, (as there have been in all the later Ages of the Church Martial Bishops and Priests) to omit the Emperors, who were for the most part Generals of their own Armies, and at the same time High-Priests; and to confine my self to the College of Priests deputed to the Service of *Hadrian*: * *Lucius Ragonius* was a *Sodalis Hadrianalis*, & *Legatus Legionis* 13. *Geminæ*. † *Septimius Aper Octavius* is stiled *Sodalis Hadrianalis*, and *Sevir turmæ secundæ Equitum Romanorum*; and || *M. Ælius Aurelius Cleo*,

* Grut.
XLV. 9.

† ccccxii. 2.

|| MXC. 13.

is called *Sodalis Hadrianalis*, & *Tribunus militum*, & *Laticlavus Legionis* 12. *Fulminatricis*. To which I may add, that *Marc Antony* to ingratiate himself with *Augustus*, as *Appian* affirms, became one of the Priests of *Julius Cæsar*; and * *Lucius Julius Bonatus* was the ^{*DLXV.4.} High-Priest of all the Temples in *Asia*, and the General of the Forces of the *Lydians*. Other Instances of this kind frequently occur in the old Inscriptions.

Nor is it a just Argument against my Emendation, that *Heliodorus* has many names, it not being unusual for the same Person to have 4 or 5 names; e. gr. *Lucius Livius Sulpicius Galba*, *Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus*, *P. Licinius Pyæm. Priscus Juventianus*: And among infinite other such Examples, that in *Gruter* comes nearest the *Palmyrene*; ^{DCVIII.7.} *L. P. Valerio Heliodoro Tr. Leg. 2. Adjutricis L. P. Valerius Chilo Filius ejus*. I shall only add, that there was an *Aurelius Heliodorus*, a Freedman of one of the *Cæsars*, whom *Gruter* mentions, but of which of the *Cæsars*, or whither the same *Heliodore* with the *Palmyrenian*, I cannot determine.

14.

.. ὑπὶλιον Ουροῳδῶ συγκαλητικὸν καὶ βαλευτὴν Παλμυρηνοῦ Βηλακαβοσπαστα τον φίλον τειμῆς χάριν ἔτες ΟΦ.

Rupilius Orodem Senatorem, & Du-um-virum Palmyrenum Belacabus Arsacis filius amicum cultus gratia honoravit, anno 570. h. e. Christi 258. Valeriani 4^o.

p. 22. *Rupilius* is a name that frequently occurs in the Books, and Marbles of the Ancients, and therefore I shall only mention *Rupilius Bonus*, whose Daughter *Rupilia Faustina* was the Grand-mother by the Father's side to the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher, says *Capitolinus*; whither I have as happily rendred the name of *Rupilius Orod*'s Friend, who honour'd him with the Inscription, (or whither it should be read Βηλας Σαβῶς Αρσα, *Belas Saporis filius, Arsacis nepos*, or any other way) I think is not much material. The Titles of *Orodes* have been already considered.

15.

15.

Μαλεντον καὶ Αγγελίππαν Ιαθαίς τῷ Ρααίς γεαμματία γενόμενον τὸ δεύτερον ἐπιδημία Θεῷ Αδριανῷ ἄλιμμα παρσυχότα ξένοις τε καὶ πολέταις.

ἐνι ν ὑπηρετήσαντα τῇ τ
σερὰ πύμα τῷ ὑπὸ καὶ
τὸν ναὸ τὸν Διὸς ν τῶτ

Malech, qui & Agrippa, Jarai fil. Raai nep. secundo scribam. (civitatis Palmyrenae) in adventu Dei Hadriani, unguenta praebentem tam hospitibus, quam incolis inservientem exercitui, — & templum Jovis Beli (ornantem).

I have adventur'd to change the name *Malen*, which no where occurs, into *Malech*, (*N* and *X* being Letters of similar shape, and make) which is a known, and common name among the *Syrians* and *Arabs*, among whom the Philosopher *Porphyry* was call'd *Malchus*, *Malchus* the High-Priest's Servant was probably of that Country, and *Malech Podofaces* was one of the Phy-
larchs of *Arabia*, when *Julian* the Apo-
state
Am. Marcellin. l. 24. c. 2.

State Emperor made his Expedition against the Persians: The Office of *Ma-
lech Agrippa* was very honourable; he was Secretary of State to the Republick of *Palmyra*, when *Hadrian* marcht into the East; i. e. in the 6th year of his Empire, *anno Christi* 122. says *Eusebius*. In which Expedition I am encouraged by the broken parts of the Inscription, to believe he assisted the Army with his Person, and Services; the Fragments being somewhat like part of the 7th Inscription; that he was a Benefactor to his City and Country, appears from the grateful Memorial erected to his name; wherein mention is made of the Temple of *Jupiter Belus*, (so I have fill'd the Vacancy from another *Inscription;) to which, I question not but he had been a munificent Benefactor; perhaps he had been Symposiarch, as *Septimius Orodes* was afterwards. He also gave a Largeſs to the publick Baths at *Palmyra* of Oyl for all Persons, who should frequent those *Bagnio's*, whether Strangers or Citizens; it being usual among the Ancients to make such Donations: So † *L. Cæcilius Cilo* gave to the People of *Como* by his Will,

* N. 8.

† Gr. 376.5.

Will, Oyl for their Baths; *ἄλειμμα, unguentum*, says the old Glossary. For the Baths of every City were lookt upon not only as ornamental, but highly useful, and great Promoters of Health and Vigor; the building such Structures is reckon'd among the noblest Acts of Magnificence in *Agrippa*, *Titus*, *Dioclesian*, *Constantine*, and others; the repairing of them when ruinous, esteem'd a Princely Benefaction; some are celebrated for building *Gymnasia*, or *Porticos*, others for flooring the Apartments with Marble, a third sort for bringing Water from a great distance for the Service of the *Bagnio*; and others made an allowance for the Oyl that should be spent there in the *Gymnasia* annex to the Bath; all which appears in the Inscriptions of *Gruter*. To these Privi-^{P. 180,} leges sometimes particular Persons were^{181. &} admitted, or particular Sexes, mixt^{pass.} Bathings being expressly prohibited, says *Lampridius*; in other places only the Freemen of the City, sometimes even Servants were allowed to frequent the place and Foreigners: *C. Arunceius*^{P. 181. 1.} *Cotta Colonis incolis, hospitibus adven-
toribus, servisq; eorum lavationem ex sua
pecunia*

Capitolin. pecunia gratuitam perpetuo dedit; & Anton. p. 19 Antoninus Pius gave the People liberty to use his own Bath gratis. To the Bath there commonly was annexed a Racket-Court (*Spæristerium*) as well as a Bathing-place (*Dioclesian in Spæristerio nymfeum fieri curavit*) where those, who frequented the Bagnio, gave themselves their Heats, before they went into the Bath; so Martial,

*Redde pilam, lonat æs thermarum; Lu-
dere pergis?*

Virgine vis solâ sotos adire domum?

As also a *Gymnasium*, or *Palæstra*, where they wrestled, and used other Exercises; so the same Martial,

*Gymnasium thermæ stadium est ex parte,
recede,*

Exuimur, nudos parce videre viros.

In the Bagnio there were two other Apartments, the *Calidarium*, or Stove, and the *Tepidarium*, called *unguentarium*, *tepidarium unctuarium*, by *Pliny unctuarium*, by *Julius Pollux ἀλειπτήριον* (μέγας δὲ βαλανεία καὶ ἐσχάρα καὶ ἀλειπτήριον)

L. 7. c. 32.
Sect. 2.

τῆριον) into these the Wrestlers and others went, when they had perform'd their Exercises: * *Theophrastus* affirms, that the generality of the Wrestlers, though healthy, had very strong and nauseous Sweats, (*Diotimus* the *Gymnastarch* divides them into three sorts, according to the degrees of Exercise, and the several Changes made in the Body) and that if the Fueller made a strong Fire all of the sudden in the Stove, it caused a less Sweat; but if the Fire were encreast gradually, it was of more use. I shall not reckon up all the Officers of the Bagnio, (the *Fornacator*, the *Dendrophori*, *Aquarii*, *Pilicrepi*, &c.) but mention only the *Alipta*, whom *Cælius Aurelianus* calls *Unctor*, and so does the old Glossary, *Αλειπτής, Unctor*; who anointed the Wrestlers; but this was the Office of an inferior Servant, the Governour of the Bagnio was called the *Alipta*, says *Jul. Pollux*, ὁ ἐρεσπικὸς (γυμνασία, ἀποδυτήριον, παλαίστρας) παιδοτρέτης τε καὶ γυμναστής, ὁ δὲ ἀλείπτης ἀδδουμὸν; though the word was not allowed among the Ancients, being introduc'd by the Writers of the Midling Comedy, (οἱ μέσοι κωμικοί;) which is also acknowledged

* De sudorib. p. 455.
456, 459.

L. 3. c. ult.
L. 7. c. 3.

ledg'd by the Author of the *Etymologicum magnum*, who affirms, that instead of ἀλείπτης, the Antients used the word παιδοτελής: But in process of time it was denizen'd; for the People of *Sparta* erected a Monument to *Gaius Rubrius Bianor* the *Aleiptes*, for his Gravity, according to the *Lacedemonian* Custom, and for his Vertue in the *Gymnasia*. But I cannot agree with the Translator of another Inscription, where ἀλειψιμενοι is rendred by *Aliptæ*, for the ἀλειψιμενοι were not the Governours of the *Gymnasium*, but the *παγκρατιασται* the Gentlemen, who perform'd their Exercises, and erected that Monument to *Bato* the *Gymnasiarch*, or *Aliptes*: The Office was very honourable, for the *Gymnasiarch* was often the High-Priest of the place for life, and honour'd with other considerable Preferments; and it was reckon'd among his noblest Titles, that he was Governour of the Imperial Bagnio. The Office of the *Gymnasiarch* was annual, but it was often given for several years to the same Person, if he deserv'd well of the Society; for then, besides the Continuation in his Dignity, he was honour'd with a Crown of Gold,

Grut.
1090. 7.

327.

Grut. 313.
10. 316.1.

Id. 327.

a

Statue, and Inscriptions to perpetuate his Name and Merit.

When a Bath was built, it was usual to give it a solemn Dedication: * So ^{178. 7.} *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, *Constantius* and *Galerius* Emperors, with *Severus* and *Maximian* Cæsars, consecrated the Baths of *Dioclesian*, (and probably for this reason does the Historian aggravate the Cruelty of *Caracallus*, that he murder'd several People of all Conditions in the Baths) and some eminent Persons were deputed Curators to super-intend the Building, that it might not fall into ruine, nor its Revenues be alienated, or employ'd to wrong uses. And such care was taken, that every thing should be kept in due repair, that though the Revenue hath been alienated for many Ages, yet the very Ruines of those publick Buildings at *Rome* remain to this day very venerable.

Lamprid.
p. 111. 112.

16.

At *Arsoffa*, in the Ruines of a noble Church, upon the Chapters of several Marble Pillars, that supported the Body or Nave of the Church, is inscrib'd the time of the Foundation of that sacred Building,

Building, which is said to have been erected when *Sergius* was Bishop of the place.

† Ἐπὶ Σεργίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ τῷ συγγενῶς
Μαρωνίῳ τῷ χωρεπισκόπῳ.

*Episcopo Sergio consanguineo Maronii
Chorepiscopi.*

Whither *Maron*, or *Maronius*, in the Inscription, were the same with the Founder of the Sect of the *Maronites*, I cannot determine, nor whither the Church did belong to them; but it seems probable both from the name, and because the *Maronites* chief Residence anciently, as now, was about Mount *Libanus*, and in the neighbouring places towards the *Euphrates*.

Διὶ ὑψίστῳ μεγίστῳ καὶ ἐπιπότῳ Βυλάνος
Ζηνοβίου τῷ Αἰσχάνῃ, τῷ Μονίμῳ, τῷ Μαθ-
θα ἐπιμελητῆς δ' ἡ αἰρεθεὶς * Ἐρχας πη-
γῆς ὑπὸ Ἰαερμῶν Θεῶν τὸν βῶμον ἐξ ἰδίων
ἀνέθηκεν ἔτους ΔΟΥ μηνὸς Ὑπερβερε-
ταιῆς κ'.

* Log.
Αφάκας.

Jovi

*Jovi summo, maximo, & propitio Bo-
lanus Zenobii filius, Airanis nepos, Mo-
cimi pronepos. Matthæ abnepos, cura-
tor octavus electus fontis Aphacitidis sub
Jaribolo Deo, aram suis sumptibus posuit,
anno 474. mensis Octobris 20. h. e. Christi
162. M. Aurelii Antonini 2^o.*

I have made the Emendation in the Inscription (which Mr. *Hallifax* confesses he is not overconfident, that it was rightly taken) upon the Authority of the ancient Writers, from whom we have unquestionable Evidence that the oracular Fountain, which the Men of *Palmyra* frequently consulted, was called *Aphaca*, while of the name *Ephca* there are no footsteps, that I have met with, in Antiquity. I have already in brief, given the History of the Fountain; to which I think fit to add, that the Worship of *Venus* in that place was very antient, that the Temple was very famous, that it stood upon the Banks of the River *Adonis*, on the side of Mount *Libanus*, and was of old very illustrious, and much honoured; that upon certain days, after the usual forms of

P. 267,
268, &c.

Soz. Eccl.
Hist. l. 2. c. 4

A a

Invo-

Invocation, a Fire descended from the top of Mount *Libanus*, like a Star, and after it had hover'd a while up and down in the Air, plung'd it self at last into the River: The Inhabitants were of Opinion, that the Star was *Urania*, by which name they call *Venus*. To which the Historian adds, that the Temple was utterly destroy'd by the order of the Great *Constantine*, as *Eusebius* avers, and with them agrees *Socrates*; but it is certain, the Worship, and the Apparitions were continued (if we may credit *Zosimus* and *Damascius*, two bigotted Zealots for Paganism;) for *Zosimus* in his time, (he lived in the fifth Century) mentions the Descent of the Star at a certain time of the year, agreeable to what *Sozomen* records, and *Damascius* (who lived about a hundred years after *Zosimus*) vouches for the Truth and Frequency of those Apparitions in his time: It is therefore very probable, that the People of *Heliopolis* (as of *Emesa*, and other parts of *Libanefia*) being warm Favourers of the Heathen Rites, would not easily suffer themselves to be weaned from their Idolatry; but repaired their Temple, and adorn'd it, though not

Hist. Eccl.
l. 2. c. 18.

not with so great Pomp and Splendor; for though *Sozomen* says expressly, that the Temple of *Venus* at *Heliopolis* was ruin'd by *Constantine's* order, yet in the latter end of *Constantius's* Reign, it was very famous again, saith the * old Geographer set out by *Gothofred*, and worshipt with great Ceremony, (*μεγαλὺς σέβας*) it being the common Opinion of the Country, that *Venus* dwelt there; and through her Favour so order'd it, that the Woman of Mount *Libanus* were the fairest of all the *Asiatics*, as they were to a Proverb, (*Socrates* says, that they held their Women in common, and prostituted their Daughters to their Guests;) and I doubt not but under *Julian*, by whose Influences and Assistance dying Paganism began to recover some Strength and Vigour, the Temple also recovered its lost Reputation; for it is past all dispute, that the Temple at *Nacle*, was not utterly destroy'd till the days of *Mahomet*: So says *Abulfarajus*; for when he reckons up the several Idols of the old Gentile Arabs, which they worshipt before that Imposter appear'd in the World, he says, the Inhabitants of *Tha-*

* Εξήγ. ὁ δὲ
τὸ κλισίον.
δ. 17. p. 14.

Pococ. Spécim. Hist.
Ar. p. 5. v.
not. p. 90.

kif worshipt a little Temple in the upper part of *Nachla*, which was called *Allat*, (or *Alilat*, *i. e.* the Moon, or *Venus*, as the Arabs calls her;) and *Abulfeda* avers, that the Idol was destroy'd and ruined, by the command of *Mahomet*, in the ninth year of the *Hegira*, *i. e.* in the year of Christ 631.

Near to the Temple of *Venus* at *Nacle*, was the Well *Aphaca* situate; so the *Castalian* Fountain at *Delphi*, stood near the Temple of *Apollo*, and another oracular Spring of that name in *Daphne* the Suburb of *Antioch*, rose near the Temple of the same God; which from the times of *Seleucus*, who built both the City and the Temple, was very famous, till the Emperor *Adrian* fill'd the Well with stones, and stopt its Current: *Julian* open'd it again; but in a little time both Fountain and Temple were consum'd by Lightning from Heaven. How those Fountains gave their prophetick Answers, the ancient Writers are not agreed; some say the Enquirer wrote his Question on a Lawrel-leaf, and threw it into the Fountain; in which, when he took it out, he found his Fate written; others, that by the different

V. Marm.
Ox. p. 100.

different noise of the Waters, either he, who consulted the Oracle, or the Priest, deputed to that Office, interpreted the Doom; while a third sort affirm, that the Priest drank the Water, and having by that means imbibed the Dæmon, found himself fill'd with the Spirit of Prophecy, and inabled thereby to answer all Questions. How the Well *Aphaca* gave its Responses, *Zosimus* particularly relates; according to which Method the famous *Stygian*-water at *Bosra* in *Arabia* unriddled Mens Destinies, which *Damascius* describes as very terrible; for if the Dæmon were pleased, the lightest things thrown into it, would immediately sink to the bottom; but if the Dæmon were angry, the biggest and most ponderous things swam on the top for a while, and at last were thrown out to the Admiration of the By-standers. By this Well the Inhabitants used to swear; but if any one had been so hardy as to perjure himself, the Water that he drank caused a Dropsy in him within the year: Thus the Water of the Fountain * *Asbamæus*, near the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Tyana* was in taste smooth, and sweet to those who were

Damasc. apud. Phot. cod. 242p

* *Philostr. vit. Apoll. l. 1. c. 4. Am. Marcell. l. 23. c. 26. Arist. π. θ. γ. μ. α. ς. ἀνέσμι.*

Aristot. ubi
sup. c. 55.
Sotion. de
flumin. ex
Higono.

honest and just; but if any Man hap-
pen'd to run the hazard. when he in-
tended to perjure himself, it affected
his Eyes, his Hands and his Feet, and
broke out upon him in Sores and Pu-
stules, and great Swellings; nor could
he move from the Well, till he had con-
fess'd himself forsworn: So that the
Water was ordeal, like the Water of
Jealousy among the Jews, which to the
Chaste gave a Conception, but to the
Unjust, and the Violators of the Mar-
riage-Vow, caus'd the *Belly to swell,*
and the Thigh to rot. Of the like kind
were the Fountains in *Sicily*, called *Pa-
lici*, by which the People of the Island
in cases of the greatest moment used to
swear: He who took the Oath, wrote
his Deposition on a Table, which he
threw into the Water; if he attested
the truth, the Table swam on the top
of the Waters; if he were perjur'd, it
sunk and disappear'd, and the Evidence
was in a burning hear.

Of the Fountain *Aphaca*, was *Bolanus*
one of the Curators, or Overseers, un-
der the Inspection of *Jaribolus* the God;
who, I suppose, had here his Oracle, and
gave Directions in the choice of the Of-
ficers

ficers belonging to it, as well as Testi-
monials to those, who had discharg'd
their Province with Honour. *Jaribo-
lus* was doubtless one of the Θεοὶ πᾶρε-
δεσι, or σωθεσγοί, of that part of *Syria*,
probably of the Moon, i. e. *Venus*, as
Alagbelus and *Malachbelus* were Asses-
sors of the Sun, (the Signification of the
name implies it בעל ירר;) so the *E-
gyptians* deputed *Sigaleon* to be the *Par-
bedrus* to *Sarapis*, the Greeks *Attis* to
the Mother of the Gods, *Erichthonius*
to *Minerva*, *Virbius* to *Diana*, *Hygeia*
and *Telesphorus* to *Esculapius*, *Tychon* to
the Moon, and to *Venus Adonis*; and
'tis not the most improbable of Con-
jectures, that he, whom the Greeks cal-
led *Adonis*, the Syrians might stile *Ja-
ribolus*, (as well as the Egyptians *Tam-
muz*) *Baal* and *Adonai* being both equi-
valent names of Power and Sovereign-
ty. And in after Ages, when Emperors
and others were allowed a solemn Con-
secration, they also were honour'd with
the Title of Collateral Judges to *Jupiter*,
whose πᾶρεδεσι were in the esteem
of the Heathen World, the twelve
greater Gods; for when *Alexander the*
Great was to be deify'd, he was call'd

v. Salm. in
H.A. Scrip.
p. 38.

A a 4

by

Lucian. non.
temer. cred.
calumn.

by *Demades*, the 13th of that Society ; and when *Alexander*, while alive, was resolv'd to give his Darling *Hephaestion* a Deification, the Greeks in Vain-flattery and Compliance sacrificed to him as an Assessor of the Gods, (ἐθεον παρ' ἐδρω καὶ ἀλεξιστάκω Θεῷ) and they intitled him to Apparitions, to Prophecies and Dreams, says *Lucian*, (and for this reason I suppose * *Eusebius* joins
† *P. 7.* *ὄνειροπομπὴς καὶ παρεδρεῖς δαιμονίας* together, when he speaks of the Gnosticks :) This Pageantry of Canonization was acted over again by the Emperor *Adrian*, to omit other Instances, when he Deify'd his Pathic *Antinous*, the Greeks of that Age attributing to him such Oracles as *Hadrian* himself had composed, says † *Capitolinus* : To the Memory of that *Catamite* the Emperor built a City in *Ægypt* called by his name, *Antinoopolis* ; there he buried him, and there especially (though the Worship prevail'd elsewhere) he appointed him a Temple, Priests and Prophets, (καὶ γὰρ καὶ πόλιν ἐκτίσεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἑκατόν Ἀντινόε, καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, says || *Hegesippus*) of which number was *M. Ulpius Apollonius* it * *Gruter*, and perhaps † *Onias*, who stiles himself

|| Apud Euseb. l. 4. c. 8.
* 86. 1.
† 326. 1.

himself the High-Priest, and Prophet in another Inscription, for that he was of *Ægypt*, his name convinces me : It must be confest, that in *Egypt* the most eminent Priest was called the Prophet, says *Clemens* of *Alexandria* ; but probably for this reason, because they all pretended to the Spirit of Prophecy, especially where there was an Oracle, as there was at *Antinoopolis* ; and the Faculty of Prediction descended often from Father to Son, as well as the Priesthood, (which among the Greeks as well as the Jews, was often fixt to a Family ;) for which reason *T. Porcius* is stiled the Son of *Proclus Ælianus*, a most illustrious Person, and a Prophet in an old * Inscription ; for among the Priests of *Isis*, (and probably among those devoted to any other Deity,) ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθανῇ τέτρω παῖς ἀντιπαθείσασθαι, says *Herodotus* † ; if the Father happen'd to † *Lib. 2.* die, the Son succeeded him. The Habit of these Prophets, says || *Herodian*, || *Lib. 5.* was a Vest, or Cassock, reaching down to the Feet, with long Sleeves ; and in the middle of the Vest a stripe of Purple, their Shoes being made of Linen : This, says the Historian, was the Habit

* Grut. 458. 1.

† Lib. 2.
V. Heliodor.
l. 1.
Lib. 5.

bit of the Priests of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*. Such an Oracle as this I am inclined to attribute to *Jaribolus*, (either at *Nacle*, or at *Palmyra*) from whence the People derived their Predictions of what was to come, and their Testimonials of what was past; and perhaps the Oracle gave its Answers at the solemn Meetings, when great numbers of the People of the Country came to the Fountain; for that there were such (συνόδοι) Conventions at stated times, *Zosimus* affirms expressly; at which their Games were celebrated, (as the *Agon Gymnicus* call'd * *Ἀθλητικός*, was perform'd in honour of the Darling of *Adrian*) there being particular Officers deputed to that Service; the chief of which was the High-Priest, (the *Archiereus*, or *Primus Sacerdos synhodi*, *πρῶτος συνόδου*, as he is stiled in the Inscriptions) and under him the Curators, or *Ἐπιμεληταί*, of which number *Bolanus* was one at *Aphaca*, (for that I suppose to be the name of the Well, as *Eros* and *Anteros* were the names of two Fountains at *Gadara*, *Asbamieus*, *Castalius*, &c. elsewhere.) In a famous Inscription in *Gruter*, the Masters or

* *Heges.*
ub. sub.

† 318. 3.
330. 3.

179. 6.
ub. 180. 1.

Gover-

Governours of the *Fons Palatinus*, are reckon'd up, of whom some were first admitted to the Honour in that year when *Octavius Lenas*, and *M. Antonius Rufinus* were Consuls; others had born the Office a second time, some a third or fourth; and they are distinguish'd from the inferior Officers, (their *Ministri*) of whom also some had done the Service a second, others a third year. In that Marble the number of Governors is eleven, but in the next Inscription the Governours of the *Fons Lollianus* are but ten.

In this Inscription *Jupiter* is not only stiled *Optimus Maximus*, but *Propitius* *ἐπὶ κλοῦ*, as an Acknowledgment of his Favours; so *Isis* and *Diana* are called *ἐπὶ κλοῦ* in other * Inscriptions.

* 40. 10.
73. 1.

18.

Διὶ μεγίστῳ κεραυνίῳ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας
Τρα. Ἀδριανῆ σεβ... τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀγαθὰ γ-
γελῶ Ἀβιλινὸς τῆς Δεκαπόλεως τὴν κα-
μιάραν ἀνοδοῦμυσεν ἢ τὴν κλιν... ἐξ ἰδίων
ἀνεθηκεν, ἔτος 677 μηνὸς Λαῶς.

Joui

*Jovi maximo fulminanti pro salute
Trajani Hadriani Domini sui Agathangelus
Abilenus Decapolites camaram ædificavit, & lectisternium propriis sumptibus
posuit. Anno 445. mense Augusto;
h. e. Christi 133. Hadrian 17.*

This Marble was found at *Tieve* near three days Journey from *Palmyra*, in the Wall of a *Mosque*, which probably was the old Temple of *Jupiter the Thunderer*, (who in other Inscriptions is sometimes stiled *bronton*, *fulgurans*, *tonans*, *fulgurator*, &c.) in which *Agathangelus* erected a *Cupola*, and a Bed of State to the Honour of the God, and for the Safety or Recovery of his Prince. The name *Agathangelus* occurs elsewhere, (*Cn. Cossutius Agathangelus* in * 644. I. * *Gruter*;) ours is said to have been an Inhabitant of *Abila*, but at the same time a *Decapolitan*, which will no longer seem a Difficulty, if we remember L. 5. c. 18. that not only *Pliny* avers, that the Geographers were not agreed, what particular Cities constituted the *Decapolitan* Region of *Syria*, though all contest the name

name to have been impos'd from the number of the Cities, and that the *Tetrarches* of *Trachonitis*, and *Paneas*, that *Abila* and *Arca*, &c. do intermix with, and encircle that Region; but that *Ptoleme* in express words (if we may credit the *Palatine MSS.*) treating of the Cities of *Syriæ Cæle*, among which he principally names *Heliopolis*, *Abila Lysania*, &c. calls them Cities of *Decapolis*; so that *Agathangelus* as to his City was an Inhabitant of *Abila*, but of the Province or Region of *Decapolis*.

Agathangelus was a very Loyal Subject, though he lived at a great distance from the Court; and for the Safety of his Prince built a *Cupola*, and set up a Bed of State under it to *Jupiter*; *καμάρα, formix testudo*, in the old Glossaries: *καμάρα νοσίων καμάρας ἔχων* in *Hesychius*. The antient Baths were so adorn'd, says *Pliny*, (*fenestras è regione Lib. 2. Ep. 2. conditor binas confinio cameræ pendentis admovit, ut suscipientium usui fabricatum lacunar aperiret*;) and the *Stadia*, or *Palæstræ*, (for in one of them *P. Licinius Priscus* built a *Piazza*, with several *Cupolæ*, *αὐτὴ κατὰ μαρμαρένους ἄνκας*)

* Oxon.
Marm.
n. 79.

ἔθκοις ἐν προσκοσμήματι;) sometimes the Tombs: * So the Tomb of Nilus the Oeconomus of Asia was adorn'd; but particularly Temples and Churches: So when Justinian the Emperor new built the Frullus of the Church of Sancta Sophia, and enlarg'd it thirty feet in Circumference, he added two Cupola's to it, one toward the North, the other to the South, (τὰς δύο καμάρας) which continue to this day. Thus Augustus says of himself in the Ancyran Marble, *Pulvinar ad circum maximum, ædes in Capitolio fici*; and Tully of M. Antony, who was one of the Priests of Julius, *Nec majorem honorem Cæsar consecutus est ab Antonio, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulachrum, fastigium*. Some Authors say, that the Tholus, Cupola, was a place in the middle of the Camera of the Temple, in which those who made Vows hung up their Offerings; others that the Camera was above the Cupola, like our Lanterns, (so says Philander;) others, that the Camera was no other than the Cupola it self, which being lessen'd by degrees, ended in a point. The *Lectisternia* are describ'd by † *Arnobius*;

V. Guther.
jur. Pontif.
l. 3. c. 9.

† L. 7.

nobius; *habent enim Dij Lectos, atq; ut stratis possint mollioribus incubare pulvinorum tollitur atq; excitatur impressio*. The Pagan Devotion inclining them to think, that their Gods ought not to want any thing conducive to their Ease and Satisfaction. Hesyc. κλίνη, καβάλα, Glossar. vet. *pulvinar προσκεφάλαιον*.

Agathangelus built his Camera, and furnisht it with a Bed, to fulfil a Vow he had made for the Welfare of his Prince; such Vows commonly occur V. Gruter. in the old Inscriptions, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας, ἐν διαμονῇ τῷ κῶλῳ αὐτοκρατορίας; *pro salute & gloriâ, pro salute itûs ac reditûs Imperatoris, pro salute Imp. totiusq; domûs divinæ, pro salute, & incolumitate domûs divinæ, pro salute, & gloriâ, pro æternitate Imperii, & salute Imperatoris*. Sometimes they vow'd the Building a new Temple, or the Repairing an old one, sometimes the Adorning a Temple with Pillars and Chapters, with Porches, or Cupola's; at other times the Offering of solemn and pompous Sacrifices, (so C. Betonius the first Priest of the Emperors, offer'd the *Tauro-*

XXIX.

12.

Dio. l. 59.
p. 645.

Tauropolium of the whole Province of *Narbonne*, for the Safety of *Septimius Severus*, and *M. Aurelius Antoninus Caracallus* his Son, for so the Inscription must be read, *M. Aurel. Ant. not M. Aureliani*, for what hath the Emperor *Aurelian* to do with *Septimius Severus*?) and some Romans were so over officious, that, when their Prince was sick, in expectancy of a great Reward, they devoted themselves to Death, (*ἀντίψυχοι*) so the Emperor might recover. So when *Caius Caligula* fell into a dangerous Distemper, *P. Afranius Potitus*, a *Plebeian*, bound himself by an Oath, that himself would die, if *Caligula* might be cured; and *Atanius Secundus*, a Man of the Equestrian Dignity, promis'd to fight among the Gladiators for the same reason: And the Emperor was so sensible of the Flattery, that he compell'd them both to be as good as their Promises. We may adjust the Time of this Inscription by the Date; since the Coins inform us, that ann. 132. the 16th of *Hadrian*, the Senate and People of *Rome* made Vows for his Health, (*Senatus populûsq; vota suscepta*).

cepta. Vota publica. Vota publica, S. c.) the same Persons in the year following paying their Thanks to *Jupiter* for his Recovery, (*Jupiter custos. Jovi custodi, S. c.*) to this *Jupiter* on the same occasion, *Agathangelus* in *Syria*, made his Vows, some months after the Romans had made theirs; the distance from *Italy* to that part of *Asia* upon the *Euphrates*, being to be allowed for.

19.

The next Inscription is singular as to its Language, and I shall endeavour to fill up the void spaces thus.

Conservatores orbis, & Propagatores generis humani D. D. N. N. Dioclesianus, & Maximianus Inviſtissimi Imperatores; & Constantius & Maximianus. Nobiles Cæsares Castra feliciter condiderunt
... ntes Cassiano Hieroclete Viro probo Præsidi provinciae Devoti Numini Majestatiq; eorum.

B b

I

I have inserted the name of *Maximinus*, (*Herculus*) because he was at that time the sole Co-partner of the Empire with *Dioclesian*: I call them *Conservatores orbis*, and *invictissimi*, from their Coins; and I have chang'd the *Prænomen* of *Hierocles* into *Cassianus*, which is well known to be Roman, while *Ossianus* no where occurs; the time when the Marble was erected has been already adjusted; for then *Dioclesian* built several Castles upon the *Euphrates*, or rather then he built the *Castr Caircesia*; for tho' it was a Frontier Castle before that time, (*Gordian*, when slain by *Philip*, having been buried there, as *Capitolinus* avers, though *Am. Marcellinus*, who had been at the place, says his Tomb was not at *Circesium*, but at *Zaitha* seven miles from it: *Zosimus* says it was at *Dura*, *Eutropius* and *Rufus* twenty miles from *Circesium*;) yet it was so poor and weak a place, says *Ammianus*, till *Dioclesian* fortified it with strong Walls and Towers, that for that reason he may be with justice said to have built the Castle, as those who have

P. 148, 149

L. 23. c. 5.

have beautified decay'd Cities, are commonly stiled by the Greeks (*κτισται*) the Founders of those Places.

20.

In the ruins of *Briadeen*, the following Inscription was found.

Ἀφιερώθη Ἀπὸ Ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἈΜΦ ἑταρῶν διὰ
Ματίου καὶ Πάππου καὶ Μάρκου υἱοῦ Μην.

It seems to have been inscrib'd on an Altar, or some Pillar of a Temple dedicated to *Minerva Lindia*, for so I would correct and read it;

Ἀφιερώθη Ἀθῆν. Ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἈΜΦ ἑταρῶν διὰ
Ματίου, καὶ Πάππου καὶ Μάρκου εἰς τὴν
μὲν.

*Consecratum fuit Minervæ Lindiæ à
Materno, & Pappo, & Marco in hono-
rem, (Deæ.) Anno 541. h. c. 229.
Christi. Alexandri Severi 8.*

B b 2

That

That *Alexander Severus* was the Darling of the East, no Man will doubt, who considers that he was not only born in *Syria*, but had made a victorious Expedition into *Persia* to secure the Quiet of his Native Country ; and that for his illustrious Qualities he was deify'd in *Libanesta* and *Palmyrene*, as well as at *Rome*. In his Reign was the Inscription set up at *Briadeen* (possibly to fulfil a Vow for his Preservation) in honour of *Minerva Lindia*. *Lindus* is

**Ἰ. Ρ. ο. δ. Ϟ*.
Ἰ. Ρ. ο. δ. Ϟ
Ἰ. Ρ. ο. δ. Ϟ.

Narrat. 47.

Rhodes, says *Suidas* *, the name both of the Island and City, where *Minerva* was worshipt with an extraordinary Devotion, the Inhabitants sacrificing to her every day, and every day making a Feast in her Temple. *Conon* tells us, that the *Phœnicians* having possess themselves of *Rhodes*, were driven out by the *Carians* ; and that the *Dorians*, under the Conduct of *Althæmenes*, dispossess the *Carians*, and built three Cities in the Island, *Lindus*, *Falysus*, and *Camirus*, which at last became one great City, called *Rhodes* after the name of

of the Island: And * *Apollodorus* affirms, * *L. 2. c. 1.* that *Danaus* having by the help of his Daughters, murder'd the Sons of his Brother *Ægyptus*, being his own Sons in Law, built a Ship by the advice of *Minerva*, in which himself and Daughters fled out of *Ægypt* to *Rhodes*, where he dedicated the Image of *Minerva Lindia*. *Minerva*, says † *Hyginus*, built † *Tab. 277.* the Ship for *Danaus*, the first of the kind that ever was seen in Greece, says || *Pliny*: This Voyage of *Danaus*, com- || 7. 46. menc't when *Erichthon* was King at *Athens*, says the noble Collection of *Epocha's* in the * *Oxford-Marble*, that * *n. 9.* his Daughters *Amymone*, *Helice*, and *Archedice*, being chosen by lot by the other Sisters, built the Temple upon the Shoar in the Maritime City of *Rhodes*, call'd *Lindus* ; which, says † *Strabo*, was situate toward the South, † *L. 14.* especially toward *Alexandria*: For in *P. 655.* that City, as || *Diodorus Siculus* affirms, || *L. 5. p. 227.* he was hospitably received, and therefore built the Temple, and consecrated the Statue ; there he lost three of his Daughters, who died of the Pestilence,

which then raged at *Lindus*, the rest sailed with their Father to *Argos*. The same Historian adds, that *Cadmus* not long after offer'd several Gifts in that Temple, among which was a Brass Vessel made à l' antique, with an Inscription in *Phœnician* Characters. But if we may believe the noble Marble, *Cadmus* sailed to *Thebes* eight years before *Danaus* left *Ægypt*; so that that part of the Story is a Parachronism in *Diodorus*. A long time after *Danaus's* Death,

Herod. l. 2.
c. 102.

Amasis the King of *Ægypt* presented the same *Minerva* of *Lindus* with two Statues of Stone, and with a Linen Breastplate of admirable Work, (*Thoraces linei* being very usual among the ancient

* Part. 2.
l. 4. c. 11.

Captains, as * *Ferrarius* unquestionably proves, and *Minerva* was a warlike Goddess, it was somewhat like our Silkmans) because his Country-women built that Temple: Which, *Strabo* says, was in his time very illustrious, and much frequented. Nor was she honour'd only in that Country, but in *Syria*, if we may credit the Inscription. In which I have put *Μάριον* for *Μαρι-*

κον,

κον, though perhaps it should be *Μαλχibus*. *Hesyc.* ἀριέρωσε, τῷ θεῷ ἀνέθηκεν, 98. 7. καθεύρωσεν, in *Gruter*.

21.

At *Andreen*, which lies between *Briadeen* and *Aleppo*, among the Ruines of an ancient Church, were found some broken Inscriptions, the Remains of the Devotions of the Christians of former Ages.

Εὐχόμεν ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης ἐπέτυχα —
ἐν εὐχαριστῶν τῷ Θεῷ προσ — ἔνεκα ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μου . . .

Ego Johannes precatus Deum affectus sum, (quod petii) ὅς gratias agens Deo (votum solvi ut peccatis meis (sit propitius.)

Over the Southern Door was written,

Αὕτη ἡ πόλις τῷ κυρίῳ δικαίῳ εἰσελεύ-
σοντας ἐν αὐτῇ.

B b 4

Porta

*Porta hæc Domini justificat intrantes
per illam.*

Over the Western Door, which I
would read,

X. Θ. ΜΓ. Α. $\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \text{Θ} \text{ Μ} \text{ Γ} \\ \text{Γ} \end{array} \right)$ $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega \alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega :$

Christo Deo optimo Maximo.

These Inscriptions do not need a
Commentary, since nothing difficult
occurs in them; but they cannot but
raise a deep Commiseration in all
Christians to see so many venerable
Remains of the ancient Piety either
converted into Mosques, or buried in
their own Ruines: No Churches ha-
ving in past times been more illustri-
ous for Religion, and good Letters,
than the Oriental, in which at this time
there are but some few footsteps of ei-
ther, the rest being over-run with Bar-
barism and Infidelity.

The next broken Inscription is also
undoubtedly Christian, (as those where-
in

in Θεδς Ιακωβ, and Ευσεβιου appear;) and, I suppose, contain'd the names of the eminent Angels *Uriel*, *Raphael*, *Gabriel*, *Michael*, (and perhaps the former Inscription may be thus rendred, χειςδς Θεοτταου, Μιχαηλ, Γαβριηλ, Παραηλ, according to the form of a similar *Epigraphé* in *Gruter*;) for it was not unu-^{1048. 2.} usual to affix the names of those holy Angels upon the Christian Tombs, out of opinion to engage them to be Guardians of the Sepulchre (as the modern Pretenders to converse with Spirits, inscribe their names usually on their Utensils;) so in the Tomb of *Mary* the Wife of the Emperor *Honorius*, on a Plate, were written these names; *Michael*, *Gabriel*, *Raphael*, *Uriel*.^{Id. 287. 4.}

I have now done with the Monu-
ments of this once famous Country;
and, because there is in every Man an
innate Desire of living after he hath left
this World, though all Men do not be-
lieve there is another; and that they de-
fire, when they are dead, to be remem-
bered, and well spoken of, that their Acti-
ons may not be confin'd to the same
Grave with their Carcasses; I shall con-
clude

clude with the wise Saying of the Roman Orator, That whenever we see such Remains of venerable Antiquity, such lasting Records of the names, and Achievements of great Persons, we are admonisht to take care so to regulate our Actions, that we may convince the World we have settled our prospect upon the Rewards of Future Ages, and not on the Flatteries of the Present; and to remember, that Monuments being erected to the Memory of those, who have lived well in this World before they left it, put us in mind, that there is nothing here permanent, and immutable, and that 'tis the Duty of considering Men to aspire towards Immortality.

A

A short Chronicle of Palmyra.

Anno Per.

Jul. 3720

Mund. 3010.

Palmyra, built by Solomon after he had finish'd the Temple, and his own House, which were 20 years in building.

P. J. 4125.

M. 3415.

Palmyra destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, before he laid Siege to Jerusalem.

P. J. 4673.

M. 3963.

V. G. Varr.

713. ante

Christ. 41.

Marc. Antony, after the Battel of Philippi, went into Asia, and sent his Troops to pillage Palmyra.

Aa. Christi

122.

Hadrian, an. Imp. 6. went into the East, rebuilt (probably) Palmyra, and call'd it Hadrianople, when Malech Agrippa was the second time Secretary of that City.

Palmyra

- circ.* 216. *Palmyra* made a Roman Colony by the Emperor *Caracallus*, in his Expedition into *Parthia*.
227. The Republick of *Palmyra* assisted *Alexander Severus* against *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, *Zenobius* being their General.
247. The Republick assisted *Gordian* against the *Persians*, *Zenobius* being their General.
260. *Valerian* was taken Prisoner by *Sapores* King of *Persia*.
264. *Odenathus* routed the *Persians*, and was declared Emperor by *Gallienus*.
267. *Odenathus*, with his Son *Herodian*, slain by *Mæonius*. *Mæonius*, the Ephemorous Emperor of *Palmyra*, slain a few days after; then *Zenobia* assumes the Empire in her own name, and her Sons.

Zenobia

267. *Zenobia* routed *Heraclianus*, *Gallienus's* General. *Vaballathus* took the Empire.—*Gallienus* slain.
268. *Claudius* chosen Emperor.
270. *Zenobia* conquer'd *Ægypt* by her General *Zabdas*.
- Claudius* died. *Quintillus* reigned 16 days. *Aurelian* in the later end of the year was chosen Emperor.
272. *Palmyra* taken, and ruin'd by *Aurelian*, and *Longinus* slain; an. 5 of *Vaballathus*.
213. *Zenobia* carried in triumph at *Rome*.
298. *Hierocles*, Governor of *Palmyrene* under *Dioclesian*.
527. *Justinian* in the first year of his Reign, repaired and fortified *Palmyra*.

Palmyra

- 63¹. *Palmyra* was subjected by the Mahometans, *Jabala* the Son of *Al Iham* being then Lord of *Tadmur*, and King of *Gassan*.
659. The Battel of *Tadmur* between *Dabacus* and *Adis*.
746. *Saleiman* the Pseudo-Caliph, beaten by *Merwan*, fled to *Tadmur*.
1172. *Benjamin* in *Tudelenfis* was at *Tadmur*.
1678. *Melhem*, the Emîr, or Prince of *Tadmur*, when the English Merchants made their first Journey thither.
1691. *Hassine* the Emîr, when the English Merchants went thither the second time.
1693. *Dôr* the Emîr of *Tadmur*.

Additions and Emendations.

Page 193. add after *Sociam*. *Nasorus* is the same name with *Nasir*, *Abunafir*, *Abdolunfir*, *Nasireddin*, which frequently occur in the Saracnick History. As does *Amrus* in the same History, and in the Catalogue of the Kings of *Gessan*, in our Learned *Pocock*, *Sochneis* the same with *Sycheus* the Husband of *Dido*. *Sampsus*, &c. p. 240. l. 6. after *Harpocraton*, add, *tho' the quxaxâr was probably the chief Magistrate, or Decurio at Ancyra*.

P. 301. l. 3. after *Grammar* add, *perhaps for αὐτῶ we should read αὐτῆς, (tho' Mr. H. positively avers, that it was written αὐτῶ in the Monument,) and then Elabelus, Mammeus, Sochneis, and Malchus, being all the Sons of Paballathus, Grand Sons of Mammeus, Great-grand Sons of Elabelus, set up that Monument for themselves, and their Children; or rather (to assert the true reading) erected that Tomb (αὐτῶ) to their Father Paballathus, (αὐτῆς) and to themselves, (and others, if there were any) his Children. This is one of the oldest Inscriptions at Palmyra, erected anno Christi 102. the 5th of the Reign of the Emperor Trajan, Palma his Governor of Syria having some few years before reduc'd that part of Arabia under the Roman Power, says Dio. l. 68. which Age no other Monument exceeds.*

Besides Misaccentings, wrong Pointings, misplacing of Letters, and other little Faults, the Reader is desired, before he enters upon the Book, to correct the following

ERRATA.

Page 8. l. 17. *preservus*. P. 17. dele *ισερτηζατωγειν*. P. 20. l. 14. del. *M*. l. 26. r. *Nicc*. p. 22. l. 21. *when*. p. 28. l. 6. a *State*. p. 35. l. 12. r. *happen'd to fall sick*. l. 21. 22. r. *for in the seventeenth year of his Reign*. p. 36. l. 3. r. *who, living some years after, languish'd*. p. 48. Marg. *Petri*. p. 55. l. 15. f. for r. *but*. p. 58. l. 3. del. *he*. p. 59. r. *an*. 264. p. 62. l. 9. *enrag'd*. p. 72. l. 2. r. *after which an*. 268. p. 73. for *probably* r. *doubtless*. p. 86. del. *the Marg*. Note, and insert it p. 87. p. 118 l. 6. r. *Marcellinus*. l. 8. in the first year. p. 121. ch. XXVII. p. 131. l. 11. r. *de-clay'd his Partner in the Empire*. p. 139. *Camphururium*. p. 140.

p. 140. del. in all probability. p. 149. l. 5. r. *washt*. p. 166.
 l. 17. del. *A*. p. 193. γεμματισ. p. 196. *Heracles*. 201.
Julius. 219. ἀναγνώσκων. ib. δούτειν. 221. l. 26. γεμμα-
 τισ. 238. ἀναγεγυμμένον. l. 12. brought. p. 239. l. 14. r.
 five. 248. l. 16. del. *Jaribolus*, and. p. 249. l. 26. εἰς ἡλίου.
 251. l. 12. r. *Xiphiline*, and del. the Marg. Note. p. 254.
 l. 2. the Emp. married *Urania* to his Country God *Elaga-*
balus, the Moon being the fittest Wife for the Sun. 263. l. 29.
Grandmother. p. 270. Marg. de Dea Syr. ed. ult. 293. l. 6.
 transcribe. 299. l. 4. τε. 302. l. 13. fifth. ib. Πάρις. and
Pani. l. 17. Chr. 138. p. 304. Marg. l. 2. chil. 310. l. 9.
 198. 311. calls him. 312. r. the same year, viz. the 4th of
Alex. 313. l. 22. r. 226. p. 317. l. 3. commanding, and
 assisting. 325. *Emesa*. 332. l. 2. Person. 345. ναὶν τὸν.
 348. *Sonat*. ib. lotus. 350. l. 27. and then. 353. l. 7. *An-*
ton. tertio. 360. l. pen. in Gr. 364. l. 15. del. and. 365.
Tetrarchies. ib. *Syria*. ib. *fornix*. p. 366. feci.

F I N I S.